

National Civic Review

(Formerly National Municipal Review)

December 1960

Volume XLIX, No. 11

- ▶ **Phoenix Sessions Launch Series**
- ▶ **Stultifying Barrier — *Editorial***
- ▶ **Goals for Metropolis**
Luther Gulick
- ▶ **Uncle Sam's Metro Job**
Alan Bible
- ▶ **Chronic Overlapping**
James K. Pollock
- ▶ **LWV Tackles
Metro Problems**



PUBLISHED BY THE
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

National Civic Review

Carl H. Pforzheimer Building, 47 East 68th Street, New York 21, N. Y.

ALFRED WILLOUGHBY, Editor

ELSIE S. PARKER, Managing Editor

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

JOHN E. BEBOUT
WILLIAM J. D. BOYD
WILLIAM N. CASSELLA, JR.
RICHARD S. CHILDS
GEORGE H. HALLETT, JR.

H. M. OLMSTED
CLYDE F. SNIDER
ANNE K. STICH
PATRICIA SHUMATE WIRT
WM. REDIN WOODWARD

STATE CORRESPONDENTS

CARTER W. ATKINS, Connecticut
CHESTER BIESEN, Washington
D. BENTON BIESEN, Maryland
ARTHUR W. BROMAGE, Michigan
FRANKLIN L. BURDETTE, Maryland
DAVID CARLEY, Wisconsin
CHARLTON F. CHUTE, New York
WELDON COOPER, Virginia
C. A. CROSSER, Washington
PAUL DOLAN, Delaware
WILLIAM O. FARBER, South Dakota
FOREST FRANK, Ohio
NORMAN N. GILL, Wisconsin
ROBERT M. GOODRICH, Rhode Island
M. H. HARRIS, Utah
EDITH L. HARY, Maine
ROBERT B. HIGHSAW, Alabama
EDWARD H. HOBBS, Mississippi
JUDITH N. JAMISON, California
WALTER E. KALOUPEK, North Dakota
HERMAN KEHRLI, Oregon
JOSEPH A. KELLY, Rhode Island
PAUL KESLO, Arizona
R. F. KNUTH, Missouri
ROBERT N. LARSON, New Hampshire
CHARLES F. LEDDECKER, Pennsylvania
JERRY MANN, Nevada
BOYD A. MARTIN, Idaho
EDWARD M. MARTIN, Illinois

JAMES W. MARTIN, Kentucky
STEPHEN J. MATTHEWS, Texas
DAYTON D. MCKEAN, Colorado
EDWIN B. McPHERON, Indiana
NORMAN MELLER, Hawaii
MRS. LUCY MICK, Alaska
WILLIAM MILLER, New Jersey
LENNOX L. MOAK, Pennsylvania
ERNEST A. MOSHER, Kansas
ANDREW E. NUQUIST, Vermont
PAUL J. PICCARD, Florida
FRANK W. PRESCOTT, Tennessee
JOHN E. REEVES, Kentucky
ROLAND R. RENNE, Montana
BENNETT M. RICH, New Jersey
JACK W. RODGERS, Nebraska
RUSSELL M. ROSS, Iowa
ALBERT B. SAYE, Georgia
VICTORIA SCHUCK, Massachusetts
STANLEY SCOTT, California
LLOYD M. SHORT, Minnesota
CHARLES F. SPENCER, Oklahoma
EDWARD J. STEIMEL, Louisiana
PAUL D. STEWART, West Virginia
ROBERT H. STOUDEMIRE, South Carolina
HERMAN H. TRACHSEL, Wyoming
PAUL W. WAGER, North Carolina
THOMAS J. WOOD, Florida
GLENN G. ZIMMERMAN, Arkansas

Published by NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

WILLIAM COELINS, President

John S. Lisen, Vice President
Arthur B. Langlie, Vice President
Richard S. Childs, Chairman, Executive Committee

Carl H. Pforzheimer, Jr., Treasurer
Alfred Willoughby, Executive Director

COUNCIL

George H. Gallup, Princeton, N. J., Chairman

Alan K. Browne, San Francisco
Hollis M. Carlisle, Springfield, Mass.
Jerome K. Crossman, Dallas
E. D. Dodd, Toledo
Harold W. Dodds, Princeton, N. J.
Charles Edison, West Orange, N. J.
Boydard H. Faulkner, Montclair, N. J.
Paul R. Gingham, Columbus, Ohio
Ewart W. Goodwin, San Diego, Calif.
Edward J. Green, Pittsburgh
Luther H. Gullick, New York
Francis A. Harrington, Worcester, Mass.
Harry T. Lee, Indianapolis
Betty L. Knox, Hartford
Harry J. Krum, Long Beach, Calif.

Myron C. Law, Seattle
Mark S. Matthews, Greenwich, Conn.
Frank C. Moore, Albany, N. Y.
Cool Morgan, New York
Vernon C. Myers, New York
Otto L. Nelson, Jr., New York
Mrs. Maurice H. Noun, Des Moines
James M. Osborn, New Haven, Conn.
Robert H. Rawson, Cleveland
Murray Seesongood, Cincinnati
Edmund B. Shea, Milwaukee
James A. Singer, St. Louis
Charles F. Taft, Cincinnati
Frank A. Vanderbilt, Jr., New York
Wilson W. Wyatt, Louisville

REGIONAL VICE PRESIDENTS

J. B. Atherton, Honolulu
Jan Chambliss, Chattanooga
Robert S. Cochran, Chicago
Charles R. Diebold, Buffalo
Ben B. Ehrlichman, Seattle
John B. Gage, Kansas City, Mo.
Carl J. Gilbert, Boston
Barry Goldwater, Phoenix
Thomas Graham, Louisville
Lloyd Hale, Minneapolis

Arthur E. Johnson, Denver
L. E. Marlowe, Richmond, Va.
J. Robert Monroe, New Orleans
Norris Nash, Oakland, Calif.
H. Bruce Palmer, Newark, N. J.
Thomas R. Reid, Dearborn, Mich.
Lee M. Sharrer, Houston
Edward C. Sullivan, San Antonio
H. V. Watkins, Jackson, Miss.
John F. Watlington, Jr., Winston-Salem

Winston W. Wynne, Miami



Harmer E. Davis, director, Institute of Transportation and Traffic, University of California, Berkeley, addressing the opening general session of the Phoenix Conference.

Phoenix Sessions Launch Series

The three-year cycle of conferences on the broad theme, "The American System: Web of Governments," was launched with the 66th National Conference on Government in Phoenix, November 13 to 16.

The special theme for 1960, "The Citizen's Dilemma in the Web of Governments," was the focus of three general sessions which explored how the citizen is served by many levels and units of governments, how he acts in this "web" and how he can find his way out of the dilemma. Prominent civic and political leaders and scholars addressed the general sessions.

Conference workshops explored in depth many of the specific problems citizens must face in complex, modern society, particularly those in growing urban areas.

Speaking at the three Conference luncheons were Karl Detzer, roving editor, *The Reader's Digest*; U. S. Senator Alan Bible of Nevada; George H. Gallup, director of the American Institute of Public Opinion; and U. S. Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona.

The Phoenix Conference set the background for the next two conferences in the cycle. In 1961 the theme will be "Metropolitan Areas: Focal Point of Intergovernmental Conflict or

(Continued on page 644)

Miami Beach Picked For '61 Conference

Choice of Miami Beach, Florida, as the site of the 1961 National Conference on Government, was unanimously confirmed by the League's governing Council at its meeting November 13, following earlier action by the Executive Committee.

The Miami area was picked because of the object lesson inherent in the metropolitan government of its county, Dade, which was adopted in 1957 and has attracted nation-wide attention. Theme of the Conference will be "Metropolitan Areas: Focal Point of Intergovernmental Conflict or Cooperation."

The Conference dates will be No-

(Continued on page 643)



Above: Judge Francis Bergan (third from right), presiding justice of the Third Department of the Appellate Division, New York State, leading discussion at a meeting of the Charter Clinic in preparation for the revision of the Model City Charter.



Center: Karl Detzer, roving editor, "The Reader's Digest," addressing the November 13 luncheon of the National Conference on Government.

Below: Carl H. Pforzheimer, Jr., League treasurer (standing), reporting to annual meeting of members. Seated, left to right, Vice President John S. Linen, President William Collins, Executive Director Alfred Willoughby.



NATIONAL CIVIC REVIEW

December 1960

Volume XLIX, No. 11

Published monthly except August by the National Municipal League

| | |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| NEWS OF THE LEAGUE | 581 |
| Phoenix Sessions Launch Series | 581 |
| EDITORIAL COMMENT | 584 |
| Stultifying Barrier | 584 |
| GOALS FOR METROPOLIS | <i>Luther Gulick</i> 586 |
| UNCLE SAM'S METRO JOB | <i>Alan Bible</i> 595 |
| CHRONIC OVERLAPPING | <i>James K. Pollock</i> 602 |

News in Review

| | |
|---|--|
| CITY, STATE AND NATION | <i>H. M. Olmsted, Editor</i> 610 |
| Voters Ballot on Amendments | 610 |
| METROPOLITAN AREAS | <i>William N. Cassella, Jr., Editor</i> 620 |
| Area-wide District for Twin Cities? | 620 |
| PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION | <i>George H. Hallett, Jr., and Wm. Redin Woodward, Editors</i> 623 |
| Two Cities Vote Out P. R. | <i>James H. Finneran and Forest Frank</i> 623 |
| TAXATION AND FINANCE | <i>William J. D. Boyd, Editor</i> 624 |
| Gaining Industry Major Local Goal | 624 |
| CITIZEN ACTION | <i>Elsie S. Parker, Editor</i> 628 |
| LWV Tackles Metro Problems | 628 |
| RESEARCHER'S DIGEST | <i>Patricia Shumate Wirt, Editor</i> 632 |
| Center Discusses Revision Proposals | 632 |
| BOOKS IN REVIEW | 636 |

Second-Class postage paid at Worcester, Massachusetts. Publication office, 150 Fremont Street, Worcester 3; editorial and business office, Carl H. Florzheimer Building, 47 East 68th Street, New York 21, N. Y. Copyright © 1960 by the National Municipal League. Subscription, \$5 per year; Canadian, \$5.25; foreign, \$5.50; single copies 50 cents. The contents of the Review are indexed in *Business Periodicals Index*, *Index to Legal Periodicals*, *International Index to Periodicals* and *Public Affairs Information Service*.

Editorial Comment

Stultifying Barrier

THE recent election calls attention again to the fact that, although there is much concern over non-voting, not enough is done to correct the condition.

Very few argue seriously for any form of compulsory voting or for ways to penalize those who fail to vote or reward those who do. It seems logical that a citizen who is not sufficiently informed or interested might serve constructively by staying home on election day and leaving the task to those who take the trouble to know the score.

There is a very substantial group of citizens, however, who lose their votes simply because they move from state to state or even within their own states. This group is conservatively estimated at five million. It should be possible to do something about them.

* * *

This is not to say that the task is simple. Congress is not in a position to act because it is within the province of each state to determine qualifications of voters and to regulate the conduct of elections.

Two states have made pioneering efforts in this direction. Wisconsin sought to grant newcomers the right to vote for president and vice president when time is too short to meet the normal one-year residence requirement. Connecticut adopted a

law permitting people who move out of the state to retain absentee voting rights for president for fifteen months, or until they acquire voting rights elsewhere, whichever is the shorter period.

The Connecticut plan has attracted the favorable attention of the National Association of Secretaries of State and the Council of State Governments. This provides hope of eventual standardization of practice and the consequent equal treatment of voters.

* * *

There were many reasons why restrictive voting rules were adopted years ago, of course, not the least of which was to prevent the stealing of elections by moving "floaters" in to tip the balance in certain areas. The Connecticut plan appears to provide adequate safeguards against such a perversion. In any event, brazen vote frauds are no longer the serious problem they were in more primitive times.

Too many of our essential operations are handicapped by constitutional, legal or traditional barriers which have long since lost their significance, as in this case. At a time when it is necessary to demonstrate before the world, in addition to ourselves, that self-government is possible and to be preferred to dictatorship, any stultifying barriers should not be tolerated.

The Civic Agency

A leader of a civic-research organization described the basic purpose of his group as follows:

"One may love one's city, yet see its shortcomings. One may respect the sincerity and competence of the city's government, yet recognize its imperfections. To know for sure wherein one's city and its government can be bettered—objectively, fairly and insistently to propose the betterment—this is citizenship at its best."

This, basically, is the creed of

most associations of citizens which concern themselves with public affairs in their communities. When a community gets too big, as most are, to have the precious and long revered town meeting, the civic organization is needed. There is no other really effective way, except in those rare spots where a newspaper covers city government thoroughly, for citizens to be adequately informed.

An informed citizenry is not apathetic. An informed citizen will participate.

'Consolidation' Wins

THERE is blind voting now and then on the sunny side of the iron curtain, too.

A batch of unused ballots, a year old, turned up at a precinct of a southern community. Without examining them sufficiently to notice that they concerned the consolidation of two other villages some distance

away, the election officials passed them out to the voters.

"Consolidation" won by a four-to-one margin.

There may be some significance in this, at that. It might be interpreted as potential impatience over the large number of separate governments requiring attention of citizens.

Excuse, Please

THIS is an apology to the enlightened voters of the commonwealth of Massachusetts.

An editorial in the September REVIEW looked askance at the fact that a half dozen or more John Kennedys were seeking various offices in that state and in Rhode Island, with special mention of the John F. Kennedy who, as a political unknown, had been elected Massachusetts treasurer and was running for nomination for governor.

The editorial intimated that electing men to public office solely on the basis of a magic name was evidence of a lack of shame on the part of the voters.

But in the primaries the voters placed Treasurer Kennedy a poor fifth for nomination for governor. Other Kennedys, including two seeking to replace the treasurer, fared badly.

Perhaps democracy can succeed, after all.

Goals for Metropolis

Vast urban growth seen forcing new measures for many human, economic, political problems.

By LUTHER GULICK*

THERE is a choice between greatness and mediocrity which must be made both as to our international mission and as to our domestic mission. With good reason we are urgently called on almost daily to wrestle with international questions. Even this urgency must not take us away from an equal concern for our life here at home. After all, our strength, our culture, our self-respect, our influence in the world, can never rise above our achievements here in the United States; we cannot win in the world on the foundation of defeats at home.

And when we turn to look at the picture at home, what do we find?

We find both a series of extraordinary and glittering achievements—social and material—and a series of frustrating failures and defeats. And where are these defeats? They are geographically concentrated in our exploding urban areas. And they are concentrated primarily in the urban areas because this is our "growing edge." From now on, in-

creasingly, the people of this nation will be found living and working within urban regions. Already the urban complexes hold 70 per cent of our people and 90 per cent of our growth over the past decade. And this is just the beginning. We are now, and for the long future, an urban, industrial people, living in a new pattern of expanded metropolitan settlement.

This is a sharp and recent break with America's past. Until 1920 we were predominantly a rural people, mostly living on the soil. Our few large cities were then clearly identified trading, manufacturing and commercial centers, surrounded by open country and linked by railroads and watercourses. Industrial and commercial jobs were highly concentrated in these urban centers by fixed power and nodal transportation; homes were similarly centered by inelastic and limited circulation possibilities; and all the commercial, "service" and secondary economic activities were drawn to these two magnets.

Our factories used to be tied to power, to massed labor, to rails, to docks and to their managements. But now power can be had everywhere, increasingly trucks which can run anywhere handle the components and consumer goods, labor motors to any job, consumer-goods factories reach for their suburban markets, and managements operate

* Dr. Gulick is president of the Institute of Public Administration (formerly director) and is director of the Government in Metropolitan Areas Project of the Edgar Stern Family Fund. City administrator for New York City from 1954 to 1956, Dr. Gulick has been consultant to numerous governmental agencies. This article is Dr. Gulick's address before the National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, Phoenix, Arizona, November 16, 1960.

effectively far from their plants or warehouses.

These changes alter the industrial and commercial system but the really dramatic change involves the people. All the movement of the people used to be a daily flow into the center and then out to concentric rings of residences. Land use, streets, public utilities, social and educational institutions, and the street and transportation system were built for and sustained this tidal flow of daily life. But now, only a declining part of the movement needs to go mornings into, and evenings out of, the center. Instead of a central commercial and manufacturing city with intermeshed tenements and surrounding bedroom communities, we now have a less dense inner population settlement, mostly below standard in quality, and the bedroom communities are no longer tied to the center on a daily basis but have their own shops and services and, increasingly, localized employment opportunities. In truth the bedroom suburb is practically gone.

These are the changes we have in mind when we speak of the "urban revolution."

It is customary to credit this explosion to the automobile. This is only part of the story. Other things are involved, principally the rise of family incomes, the ubiquitous transmission of electricity and communications, all-weather roads and expressways, septic tanks and driven wells, and social changes, especially the shorter workday and week and new techniques of corporate organization and management. When these changes made it possible to get skilled urban labor in the sub-

urbs and urban customers in the "country," dispersed factories and shopping centers added their influence to the scatteration.

No one should have been surprised by the rush to the suburbs. This gratifies a human dream as old as the first Persian garden. With all his desire for close human association, man has always wanted elbow room, privacy and a chance for "a piece of land under the sky." And now he can have it, without giving up the great advantages and higher income of urban existence.

But we pay a price, a price which will now begin to rise astronomically. Unless we can quickly develop community controls which we do not yet have in most areas, much of suburbia will soon be destroyed by its very popularity.

There is a difference between human beings and locusts, however, in that men have brains and the power to act in concert to preserve the things they treasure. Or have they?

* * *

Be that as it may, we now have a new pattern of human settlement. Instead of the old pattern of dense and clearly defined cities, we now have a spongy urban pattern, with no clear fixed edges. In some parts of the country, the urban settlements already run together at their fringes and shift from month to month.

People and goods are flying in every direction, paying no more attention to the nodal circulation system of the past than they are forced to by our antique urban designs.

The principle of the central city is increasingly vertical. But the outer settlements are horizontal, not

only the homes but also the commercial and industrial establishments. A vertical system, for intensive development, requires conservation of land and economical mass transportation — economical both for those who ride and in land use. A horizontal system requires great stretches of land and therefore individual, high speed, flexible transportation. Such settlement does not need and cannot support rapid, mass transportation.

* * *

The immediate consequence of this conflict of basic structural principles, one vertical and the other horizontal, is now giving us what some think is an insoluble urban transportation problem. When we extend the center's mass transportation system into the suburbs, the result is nonuse, economic failure and the demand for subsidies. When we extend the suburban, personal transport system into the vertical city, we destroy the city with canyons of cement, Chinese walls of whirling traffic, and vast and sterile storage warehouses and parking lots for idle machines.

And we do something more. We mix vehicles and pedestrians indiscriminately on our city streets and in our established shopping and business areas, then wring our hands over the accident rate and wonder why people resent and run away from the unhappy competition.

From this unresolved conflict of basic principles of organization and development we now have the chaos of urban transportation with traffic "solutions" that solve nothing, shoppers who refuse to come to

town, subsidies for commuter railroads that at best may only delay their collapse for a few short years, and the effort of human beings each to find his own solution through escape.

A second major factor in the new urban pattern of settlement is the bad concentration of the economically handicapped and the socially restricted in the obsolescent housing of the old urban center. Except for the rich who can protect themselves anywhere, the upper and middle income groups with children are moving to the suburbs, availing themselves of the new amenities made possible by modern technology. Though differences in skin color make the situation more difficult now, the basic problem is not color and culture—it is economic. But the end result is an indigestible concentration of the underprivileged in the "gray areas" of our older cities. This produces not only the slums but almost unmanageable burdens for the educational, social, correctional and welfare services of the local governments involved. The concentration of poverty we are producing in the old cities by the combination of these governmental and economic policies and our failure to meet urban needs is a bad thing for America.

The third result of these sudden changes is political. Under our constitutional system we expect that the local governments will manage and finance the local schools, police, hospitals and health services, the local water and sewer systems, welfare services, and libraries, parks and museums; and that the local government will arrange for mass

transportation, regulate buildings, prevent slums and raise the standards of urban life with sound planning and the adoption of such programs as may be called for to meet developing requirements. Because of the lack of local taxes to carry these expanding burdens, we have supplemented urban resources with various federal and state grants, especially since the great depression of the 1930s. But we still count on local leadership to draw the plans, arouse local support and then move into action.

In some cities this system has produced notable progress, but in most centers the local governments are, in spite of everything, falling down on the job. They are falling down because: (1) The potential community and political leaders have moved out of town into the suburbs or have been swallowed up in the employ of national chains and corporations which "keep out of local politics" as a matter of policy; (2) the central cities are still financially strapped, a situation which is not helped when industrial and commercial taxpayers move out of town; (3) the problems to be dealt with now spread out over the countryside in every direction across municipal lines, across county lines and even across state lines, while the powers to act are still closely limited to inadequate legal corporate boundaries; and (4) the local governments are falling down because of middleheadedness on all sides, coupled with some parochial selfishness, a lazy desire to disturb nobody and the vain hope that "things will work out all right if we just give them time."

I am committed to the proposition that time alone will not save us. The new pattern of settlement and work on this continent, the metropolitan complex, is for us a major revolution in human life. We will never make our peace with this revolution without a clearheaded understanding of what is involved and an agreement to go forward on new principles and programs.

These new principles and programs are the goals for the metropolis. They are human goals, economic goals and political goals.

* * *

The first decision as to the metropolis is to make up our minds as to what the function is of urban concentration in the modern world. In the past cities grew up for defense, for commerce and trade, for governmental, guild and private administration, for "status" and entertainment and, especially with the industrial revolution, to exploit power and labor. And many a man went to the city primarily because of the lack of rural land and opportunity.

But why do we need these urban concentrations now? The answer is simple: the whole purpose now is to increase the range of easy face-to-face contacts between individuals. After all, man is a social animal and therefore a teamworker. He can do little by himself. But working with others, shoulder to shoulder and brain to brain, there are apparently no limits to what he can accomplish. Therefore man must congregate so he can join with others in thinking, swapping ideas, expressing himself, gaining knowledge and skills,

specializing, creating, producing, enjoying life and pursuing the highest values. For this a fixed association with others is not enough. A man must also be free to change his contacts and work with different individuals and groups for different purposes as he sees fit in his own mind and heart. This too is essential for modern freedom, the freedom to choose one's human contacts, to escape regimentation, the boredom and the slavery of the routine, to possess variety and change, freely selected to match the desires and needs of the individual.

Thus the urban complex is the physical arrangement under which the human being expands his range of free human contacts and choices to the far horizon. In the big urban area, a man has not a dozen neighbors with whom he may associate intimately and freely; he has a thousand, a hundred thousand, a million, from whom he can pick and choose, on the basis of his need or desire.

But to accomplish this magic of human extension we must have something more than crowding humans together. In fact, crowding together soon automatically reaches its limits and destroys the freedom of contacts.

We have three methods of overcoming the defeating effects of congestion. These are, first, the standard urban services and controls which make it safe and comfortable for mankind to live in close association. These include health, sanitation, police, fire, zoning and building controls and all the rest. Second, we have mechanized communications, from buzzers and

doorbells all the way to newspapers, telephones, tickers, radio and TV. These make the more routine personal contacts unnecessary, so that the necessary face-to-face contacts may have the right of way. Third, we have the designed and mechanized circulation and transportation system, with streets, sidewalks, elevators, water and sewer pipes, bridges, tunnels, mass transportation, commuter services, the rails, taxis and private autos and trucks. It is a bewildering array designed to "master space," first by facilitating internal free circulation and free human contacts within each urban area and secondarily by moving goods to sustain work and life.

* * *

Human Goals of the Metropolis.

From the human point of view, therefore, with this definition of the true function of the urban complex firmly accepted, we can list these major social goals for the metropolis:

1. To guarantee the maximum opportunity for the number and the range of human contacts and the freedom of choice of the individual in entering into these varied activities and teamwork situations.

This is to be achieved not alone by the pattern of land use and the circulation system but also by the cultural and social system as well.

2. To afford every individual and family a decent home, clean air and surroundings, protections from disease, pain and fear, and reachable opportunities for education, work, recreation and cultural satisfactions for all. Special concern must be shown for those who are limited by their incomes, color, recent migra-

tion or by their age or other handicaps.

This social program again involves circulation but goes much deeper into the national economic structure and requires educational, social, medical, recreational and cultural developments far beyond our present achievements. With our spectacular materialistic progress and our overstimulated "consumer" psychosis, we shall need now to press for cultural values more than ever.

3. To raise up in the new sprawling urban complexes, community activities, community commitments and community institutions which by their democratic development and intrinsic nobility can command men's loyalties and elicit their devotion, as have cities of the past in their periods of grandeur.

The people who live and work in an urban area have a deep emotional need to have "their city" stand for something worth while in the world and to present to themselves and to mankind a strong physical image of this spiritual ambition in the structure of the city, in its vistas, in its major monuments. Through these, men venerate the past, remember the achievements of those who have gone before, reach for the future and affirm their self-respect and idealism.

Fortunately memories, beauty, power, imagination and ordinary efficiency are all part of the same architectural tapestry in the hands of the great artists. Fortunate, too, is the natural beauty, friendliness and power of even unplanned heterogeneous developments provided they grow within the framework of a general design. For us, a

beautiful and efficient city does not exclude little crooked lanes and modest shops in their place. In fact, nothing would be such a poor reflection of our pluralistic and individual society as the neat and completely uniform layouts we see programmed in the new communist world.

But there must be a general skeleton or design for each major urban area, a design which will afford our growing metropolises the same kind of sustaining structure that our political forefathers built into our governmental and economic life when they gave us a federal union with a federal constitutional framework. And, similarly, this broad urban design must be the product of great genius, ratified after debate by democratic community decision.

The feelings of local patriotism which will rise around such a noble structure are not only essential for the fulfillment of the individual human spirit, they are also a dynamic resource for the economy and for the effectiveness of political life as well.

* * *

Economic Goals. In the modern national state, the economy of the urban areas is substantially set by the national cultural pattern and by the nation through its international and domestic policies which relate to war, peace, trade; rail, highway, water and air transportation; taxation, credit and money; labor, wages, strikes, unemployment; migration, agriculture, conservation; education, research and welfare. This is a long list. The national policies certainly set the stage.

But national policy does not determine the internal economic efficiency of each urban area. This the people of the area do for themselves through their own internal arrangements, services and controls, especially as to the economic efficiency of the circulation system, the interrelation of land uses, tax policies, the development of the skills and teamwork habits of the population, and the degree to which the local centers of power recognize their responsibilities and work together for the economic benefit of the whole area.

The goals as to these economic problems are thus:

1. To develop a land use pattern and a complementary, comprehensive street and transportation system for the entire area which is economical and efficient. Once again the purpose is to provide easy contacts and to maintain maximum freedom of choice. The main reason we have higher money incomes in the urban areas today is because the breadth of free contacts makes for competition, higher efficiency, more invention and greater elasticity, all of which are essential in a changing world. This characteristic of the urban complex we must preserve for economic reasons.

2. The educational system of the urban area must recognize the unique requirements for skilled man power of the area, both for work and for change, and must develop better methods of mutually adjusting workers and work for the region as a whole. This will involve not solely the workers and the employment services but also research and developmental activities by govern-

ment, education, industry and commerce.

3. Not less important is the improvement of the health and general welfare of the people of the area and the advancement of their working, recreational and cultural satisfactions. These noneconomic factors have a direct bearing on the economic productivity and standards of the metropolitan community.

4. Each metropolitan community must appreciate the tremendous economic burden thrown on the community by exploiting the economically handicapped, coddling the sweated trades and holding any segment of the people "down." The fundamental resource of the urban community is its people, all its people.

* * *

5. The tax and revenue systems of the metropolitan areas now require complete reconstruction. This will not be easy because it will involve vested interests, the old central cities, the new suburbs, the states and the federal government as well. The main responsibility for action rests, of course, with the states, but they will not move without the leadership of the metropolitan leaders—business, labor and political. The concentrations of tax-paying ability and the concentrations of social need are now badly out of kilter because the metropolis is a new pattern. Urban renewal became a problem long after present tax systems were evolved to pay for totally different governmental needs.

As to many local governmental activities, economically adequate user charges are now essential not only to raise money and relieve tax-

payers but also to ration the services among those who really need them. And surely, we have seen the folly of taxing low-cost rail commutation services while we subsidize high-cost rubber-borne commuters! But it is going to be hard to work our way out even with the most careful research and rigorous return to fundamentals.

6. Local leadership from the economic world must develop the habit of working together on local economic problems, without waiting for crises and breakdowns. Local achievements through such teamwork among the economic and political leaders as in Pittsburgh, Baltimore, Cleveland, Hartford, New Haven, Utica and other urban areas are already spectacular.

It will be observed that these economic goals relate: (1) To the efficiency of the urban layout and its circulation system, (2) to the better utilization and development of manpower resources, (3) to the general social and cultural standards of the community, (4) to a better apportionment of the growing tax burdens, and (5) to the establishment of teamwork among those who dominate the economy of the region.

* * *

Political Goals. Few of these metropolitan human and economic goals can be achieved effectively without fundamental changes in our local political performance and institutions. I say this because under present conditions politics is the process of community action and public administration is the mechanism of carrying out community decisions, performing community

services and exercising the needed community controls.

The political goals thus include:

1. More citizen understanding, participation and action in metropolitan affairs. This will require different patterns of action in different communities, to fit existing institutions and future local problems. The immediate purpose of citizen action is to develop awareness, move toward area-wide thinking and bring leaders forward.

2. The big corporations and the "chains" should take the lead in making it respectable and normal for their local officers, and for businessmen in general, to take part in local metropolitan community activities. General Electric, Ford, Shell Oil, Chase Manhattan Bank, Kaiser Industries, various local power and communication utilities and a few chains have already led the way, and the U. S. Chamber of Commerce and the Committee for Economic Development have given their blessing. But we need more real involvement and hard effort by men who are willing to work without demanding the credit. And no one can guide such men better than the National Municipal League.

3. The next thing we require is effective intergovernmental cooperation. We need joint work among the neighboring local governments, with the active cooperation of the state governments and of the federal agencies which are concerned with interstate highways, urban renewal, slums, housing, mortgages, water supply, water pollution, national and civil defense, social welfare and migration, and rail, air and water transportation.

The time has come to abandon the notion that the American federal system is a system of divided and conflicting powers. Of course, we have divided duties, but this in itself requires joint work among the several partners to get results as in any division of labor. Politicians and civic leaders who fight the battle of narrow jurisdictional prerogatives are not serving the public today in this time of metropolitan evolution.

In the development of effective intergovernmental cooperation, it now appears we shall need a new state agency in each of the larger states specifically designed to facilitate local governmental cooperation as well as the better coordination of state programs as they hit the metropolitan areas. New York Governor Rockefeller's new Office for Local Government is worth watching.

* * *

4. We still need improvements in the structure and management of our local governmental machinery, along with the attraction to the local public service of more men and women of education, ability and character. I shall not try to spell out these needs here, except to say that local governments in the metropolitan areas now face important and difficult new assignments. These relate specifically to urban renewal, slums, transportation, low income immigration, the exodus of taxpayers, city planning and zoning, and a new intensity of intergovernmental relations. In these fields, mayors, city managers and city councils have new work cut out for them. They now need special assistants to work on these problems in cooperation with

other governmental agencies, federal, state and local.

5. The paramount political need of each metropolitan area is to bring together, from the area not solely the central city, the major leaders to consider the "state of the nation" locally. This informal convocation should begin with the major local business, utility, banking, professional, university and political leaders, with the addition of individuals from the labor, social work and communication leaders where this is feasible. The agenda should be designed to define the priority problems over the next generation and to determine how these may be attacked and on whose responsibility. This group would thus constitute a forum for quiet responsible discussion; a clearinghouse for regional information, research and plans; a technique for precipitating a community consensus; a mechanism for orderly cooperation; a center for the development of regional goals and programs; and a springboard for regional leadership.

Such a gathering may decide that water or crime or education or transportation or pollution or industrial development or comprehensive planning is at the top of the priority scale. The conferees may then decide what part of the need can be met locally, at what point the area requires state or federal help and how this should be negotiated. After performing this function, in three to four years, the convocation could adjourn or it could continue to exist as a quiet informal force ready to aid the responsible operating agencies. The important thing is to get

(Continued on page 609)

Uncle Sam's Metro Job

Senator sees need to coordinate federal urban programs, the 'cities retaining initiative.'

By ALAN BIBLE*

IN organizing to meet the challenge of metropolitan growth, the federal government faces initially in Washington, because of its unique position as a national capital, problems that must ultimately be recognized in the laws, organization and programs of the federal government itself. The reason is, of course, the unique position of the national capital city. Article I, Section 8, of the Constitution of the United States authorizes Congress "to exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever" over the seat of government. The city of Washington, therefore, is of special concern to Congress and has often served as a laboratory to test programs that have later become nation-wide.

Indeed, a recurring proposal over many years has been the injunction that the federal government exercise its unique responsibilities in the national capital region to create an ideal metropolitan area. This has been forcefully stated by Professor Daniel R. Grant of Vanderbilt University: "If the federal government could achieve an effective integration of the government of the District

of Columbia with its suburbs by some method also available to other metropolitan areas, the result would be new hope for metropolitan integration the country over."

As Professor Grant notes, a similar suggestion was made earlier by the Urbanism Committee of the National Resources Committee. It was also reiterated by Victor Jones: "The least that the federal government should do is to study the problems of its own metropolitan area. Here Congress has exclusive jurisdiction over the central city.

"The federal government has an opportunity and, I believe, a responsibility to act as a model to the rest of the country by recognizing that the national capital is a metropolitan community spilling over into several counties and independent cities of two states. It also has an opportunity to develop a model *approach* to a comprehensive and co-operative study of the problems and to the development of solution. I emphasize the *approach* to metropolitan problems because I am not sure that there is any single solution that can be designated as a model."

Still more recently two other distinguished governmental experts, Professors Robert M. Connery and Richard H. Leach of Duke University, in their book *The Federal Government and Metropolitan Areas*, have recognized in Washington "a signal opportunity for Congress to

* Mr. Bible, a member of the United States Senate from Nevada, is chairman of both the Senate's District of Columbia Committee and the Joint Committee on Metropolitan Problems. He was elected attorney general of Nevada in 1942 and 1946. This article is Senator Bible's address before the National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, Phoenix, November 15, 1960.

assume vigorous leadership and to make significant contribution not only to the solution of the District's problems but also, by example, to the solution of similar problems in every other metropolitan area."

I have sketched, in the words of these authorities, the challenge which the Congressional Joint Committee on Washington Metropolitan Problems faced in that area when it commenced its work in 1958. I am gratified by Drs. Connery and Leach, who concluded: "Not only does the committee's report enable Congress to deal better with the problems of the Washington metropolitan area; it also provides information Congress needs to help other metropolitan areas solve their problems."

The orthodox, theoretical solution of Washington's metropolitan problems, to the extent they are caused by a multiplicity of jurisdictions or the political vacuum represented by a disenfranchised central city, rather than caused by the size and extent of the city or its rapid growth, is probably consolidation. In other metropolitan areas, the merger of a city and a county, or of two or more cities and/or counties, stands at the top of governmental remedies for metropolitan difficulties.

Consolidation of the District of Columbia with some other governmental entities in the metropolitan area can probably be accomplished most readily by retrocession by the federal government of all or part of the District of Columbia to Maryland. There is precedent for this action in the 1846 retrocession of the Virginia portion of the original "ten-mile square." This allowed the establishment of Arlington County.

Thomas Jefferson's writings contain a similar proposal in the suggestion that the federal district be limited to three miles square instead of the ten miles square authorized by Congress. Under this arrangement, Washington, D.C., would become Washington, Maryland, and the government of the city would assume a form common to Baltimore and other Maryland cities.

It is at this point that a congressional committee must part company with the philosophers of the law and theorists of government.

I shall not review in detail what is available from over 30 published documents, staff studies, hearings and reports of the Joint Committee. It does seem worthwhile, however, to mention three acts of Congress which respond to the committee's findings and recommendations.

* * *

Declaration of federal interest in proper development of the metropolitan area. By the adoption of Senate Joint Resolution 42 (Public Law 86-527) Congress and the President laid down a policy that the development of the District of Columbia and the management of all federal agencies and activities shall be coordinated with the development of the other areas of the Washington metropolitan region, so as to contribute to the solution of the community development problems of the region on a unified metropolitan basis.

The committee views this statement of policy as the first step in a program of legislative and administrative action which will fulfill the federal government's obligation toward the nation's capital and the metropolitan region of which it is

part. The joint resolution calls upon the various federal, state and local agencies to consider the committee's report of January 1959 and to offer to Congress their recommendations on the proposals made in the report. These recommendations, taken together with the committee's proposals, should provide the next Congress and the next administration with a sound basis for further legislation and executive action toward the solution of the problems which the committee has studied.

* * *

National Capital Transportation Act (Public Law 86-669). The National Capital Transportation Act of 1960 sets the stage for an important new chapter in the development of the national capital region. Now for the first time there will be an agency capable of providing the major transit facilities which are so necessary to the region and which are beyond the abilities of the various local governments. Comprehensive transportation planning can also consider its impact on the region.

The act directs the agency to continue the comprehensive transportation studies and planning begun by the mass transportation survey. It authorizes negotiation of an interstate compact to set up an agency to deal not only with the transportation but also with any other metropolitan problems which may be found to call for this approach.

Potomac interceptor sewer. A third important enactment was Public Law 86-515, which authorized and directed the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia to design and build an interceptor sewer

to carry sewage from the new Dulles International Airport to the district's sewer system. The sewer is to be designed to serve the areas through which it passes. It will thus provide a means of keeping Washington's water supply free from sewage or effluent from sewage treatment plants, both from the airport and from the extensive residential, commercial and industrial development that can be expected in the vicinity of the airport and in other parts of the Potomac watershed.

The district's—and the region's—water supply will not be safe until the interceptor sewer and the necessary local sewer systems have been built to collect sewage from upper Fairfax and lower Loudoun Counties in Virginia and upper Montgomery County, Maryland. The first of these tasks will require diligence on the part of the District of Columbia Department of Sanitary Engineering, to which the construction of the interceptor has been entrusted, while the latter will require equally determined efforts by local sanitary agencies.

While federal initiative has been taken as the point of departure, and the unification of federal programs including federal grant-in-aid programs is needed, further action by the localities involved is equally essential. Not only must the four existing strong urban counties in the Washington metropolitan area continue their progress but also relations among them must be strengthened. In Virginia the northern counties are too closely tied to Richmond to be able to cooperate freely and effectively in metropolitan activities.

In Maryland the rapidly growing Washington suburbs are today badly underrepresented in the Maryland state legislature. These issues of home rule and reapportionment are familiar but we cannot make progress toward metropolitan integration without resolving them. As a step toward stronger intergovernmental relations, Washington has a valuable new metropolitan institution.

* * *

As a forum for the expression of regional interests, and a framework within which to develop intergovernmental relations, the Washington Metropolitan Regional Conference has been hailed by the joint committee as a welcome new institution of urban government. Its potential for further growth has also been recognized. This can take the form of "a leadership development institution," as has been contemplated in a similar organization, the New York Metropolitan Conference. Or it can attempt to secure recognition from the state legislatures of Maryland and Virginia as an organ of metropolitan government for some limited purposes. Progress in these directions should be furthered in every possible way. Despite such welcome steps as the establishment of an operating budget and the employment of its own executive secretary, the four-year-old conference has still far to go before it will be dealing effectively with Washington metropolitan problems.

While impressive progress has been made on several fronts, the fast-growing national capital region continues to make new demands on the governmental machinery. The joint

committee's last report reemphasized the importance of several of its earlier recommendations in the near future.

In its report of January 1959 the joint committee recommended establishment of a coordinator of national capital affairs in the Executive Office of the President. This proposal has met with widespread approval. It is necessitated by the fact that many different federal agencies play a part in the development of the national capital region and they have no common superior short of the President himself. The coordinator would do the staff work preparatory to a decision by the President in matters on which the subordinate agencies do not agree or which are of sufficient importance to warrant the President's attention.

Probably the next most urgent recommendation is establishment of a Regional Development Agency, responsible for the planning of major public works. One of the most important findings of the committee was that the major public works that affect development of the region should be planned and built in a coordinated manner, as parts of a comprehensive plan of regional development. In the present session of Congress two of the most important kinds of regional public works have been vested in separate agencies rather than in a Regional Development Agency such as the committee had proposed. This was necessitated by the need for fast action to solve the Dulles Airport sewage problem and to make a start on regional transit development.

But now every effort should be

made to avoid any further fragmentation of major public works among special-purpose agencies and every effort should be made to bring the transit and sewerage programs within the organizational framework recommended by the committee.

In the longer run, the Regional Development Agency should be established by interstate compact. The recently enacted transportation legislation provides authority for the negotiation of a compact to cover not only transportation but also other functions of regional scope.

* * *

Construction of the Potomac interceptor sewer will make a demand on the localities through which it passes—a demand for a local agency capable of building local sewer lines to feed into the interceptor. This situation gives new urgency to the committee's recommendation of a Northern Virginia Sanitation Authority. Without such an authority there is grave danger that subdivisions will be built in areas not having a public sewer system, and will proceed to dump raw sewage or treatment plant effluent into the Potomac. This is an excellent example of the way in which a successful attack on regional problems requires strong local governments and, in many fields of activity, strong subregional organizations.

Finally, the committee recommended that the scope of the committees on the District of Columbia of the Senate and the House of Representatives be broadened to include federal interests in the metropolitan area outside the District of

Columbia. As a first step in this direction, the files of this committee are being transferred to the two standing committees for permanent retention.

The consideration of Washington metropolitan problems by the standing committees on the District of Columbia would be furthered by the formation of subcommittees to deal with this matter. It may be expected that the two subcommittees would work closely together, perhaps constituting a standing joint committee, and thus continue the unified approach by both standing committees commenced by the joint committee.

The advantages of this more unified treatment of federal decisions within the metropolitan area can be realized, of course, only if legislation affecting the metropolitan area is in fact referred to the committees on the District of Columbia. The joint committee is convinced by its experience of the merit of handling such legislation in this manner.

Contemplating its investigation of the growth and expansion of the District of Columbia, the joint committee has dealt not only with a problem of great federal interest and importance, and brought about major new legislation; it has dealt with a problem of significance to an urban nation, most of whose future population growth will be concentrated in complex metropolitan areas. Here it is increasingly clear that demands of growth are outstripping local government organization, powers and resources, requiring both state and federal action.

While the conditions that have

created the metropolitan problem in Washington may be unique, and the circumstances surrounding its solution may be unmatched in other large cities, the widespread interest manifested in the committee's work throughout the nation illustrates the value found in it. In facing the problems of its capital city, Congress has dealt with many federal aspects of the growing metropolitan problem throughout the nation. In this larger sense, the joint committee has shown the way forward.

The study which has been conducted during the past two years by the Congressional Joint Committee on Washington Metropolitan Problems is surely a typical forerunner of some type of national investigation of emerging metropolitan problems. I think I could well mention two areas in which Congress is already starting to move: (1) in the field suggested by the legislation produced by Senator Clark of Pennsylvania, himself a distinguished former mayor of the city of Philadelphia, and (2) that proposed by Senator Williams of New Jersey.

* * *

We must recognize today that the welfare of our great cities requires the coordination, indeed the mobilization, of federal urban programs. Their future growth depends upon it. The solution of their present problems demands it. So long as we lack a national urban policy, what Wilfred Owen of the Brookings Institution has termed "a total strategy for metropolitan problems," separate and uncoordinated federal programs may actually be hastening the rot

of city centers, sprawl of metropolitan fringes and intensifying urban problems.

I want to leave no misunderstanding in this recognition of a federal role in the solution of urban problems. The initiative must remain with the cities themselves. This is not merely a question of the federal programs being administered in a way that handicaps local efforts to solve local problems; it is a matter of the right hand of the federal government not knowing, in many instances not caring, what the left hand does. With one hand we are spending money to clear the slums and redevelop the blighted sections of our cities. With the other we are spending money to construct urban expressways which not only fail to strengthen city efforts to deal with their problems but actually pose new ones as natural urban neighborhoods are divided by new Chinese walls and as the impact of heavy traffic weakens the still sound residential areas.

Many further examples of uncoordinated federal urban programs may be cited, along with their consequences—not the least of which are reflected in the municipal budget and in equally important accounts of social and economic costs and benefits.

From the federal viewpoint, I should like to repeat here what I told the Senate Committee on Government Operations a year and a half ago when it was considering Senator Clark's bill to create a Commission on Metropolitan Problems: "Given the present lack of coordination among federal agencies engaged

in such programs as highways, housing, urban redevelopment and airports, the demand for federal aid is inexhaustible. Much assistance of this sort is inevitably wasted as the benefits of individual projects cancel out each other. The needed planning and coordination must be local as well as federal.

"I would express some skepticism that the right answer will be one that creates any new executive department for the federal government. Rather I would hope for some greater unification in policy rooted in the deeper understanding of these new problems of our great cities."

We face now the political opportunities and responsibilities of a new administration. Despite great advances in congressional recognition of metropolitan problems, particularly in the last four years, I seriously doubt that we are prepared to take major forward steps without further investigations and deliberation.

To what extent is metropolitan growth itself, still more the great suburbanization of the United States, a consequence of our present public policies? We do not know the effect of new public housing on surrounding areas. We cannot measure the impact of urban expressways. The consequences to urban populations of the urban renewal program are obscure. The shifting economies of metropolitan areas still defy analysis. We have not begun to understand the causes and the effects of great population migrations, the most conspicuous of which has created the racial problems of our northern cities.

In almost every field of urban

policy we lack a rational basis for decisions that embrace, as they should, the health, the substance, the fabric of the city itself. This is not an appeal for research so much as a qualification of the scope of our immediately desirable actions in dealing with metropolitan affairs. I have supported the proposal for a metropolitan study commission or, even better to my way of thinking, a smaller, fast-moving select Senate committee to do the same job. I have also supported in Congress emergency legislation such as Senator Williams has proposed to deal with metropolitan transit. But these do not provide the basis for comprehensive changes in federal urban programs or for administrative reorganization.

* * *

Short of such far-reaching decisions, the restricted area of immediate progress seems to embrace, as the chief possibility, the proposal for a Council of Urban Affairs—a high-level device to exercise national leadership, conduct research and find incentives that will help resolve metropolitan problems.

As we face these further tasks, it must be with the recognition of the great urban society we are creating in the United States and the new problems it is posing to government at every level. The staggering estimates of urban growth we have been given indicate not only a change in magnitude but a change in kind. The America of tomorrow can be strong and great only as our cities and their people are the source of that greatness. That must be the federal interest in metropolitan areas.

Chronic Overlapping

Prompt and vigorous action urged to resolve the problem of federal-state-local relations.

By JAMES K. POLLOCK*

JAMES Madison, who is usually referred to as the father of the American constitution, in discussing the federal system which was then being proposed for adoption, expressed his opinion that the federal system would work if, as he put it, "we use reciprocal forbearance." It is my purpose to examine our federal system in the light of present conditions with a view to determining how successfully we are following Madison's prescription and what, if anything, we are doing to strengthen the foundations and the operations of the system which has brought us so successfully along the road of self-government.

We have had more experience with federalism than any other major country and the experience has not always been happy. Today, we are having one of our more unhappy and difficult experiences. We are not going to have a civil war over intergovernmental problems but we may well have a crisis of monumental proportions if we do not soon take effective steps to overcome major

difficulties in relationships between and among our national, state and local governments.

An explanation of the evolution of the American federal system has been done very well in the report of the Kestnbaum Commission (Commission on Intergovernmental Relations). But suffice it to say, our federal system is one of man's great contributions to the art of representative government. It is today the oldest functioning federal system and it has met most of the tests to which it has been put. To most students of the problem its usefulness is still apparent. And in any case it is not realistic to talk about basic constitutional reforms which would transform our system into a unitary arrangement on the one hand or, conversely, would reduce the role of the national government to that which it occupied at the turn of the century.

It is clear that our situation today is fundamentally different from what it was in 1789, 1889 or even in 1950. The fact is, our present situation is so serious that unless we are able, in the next few years, to solve the problems of intergovernmental relations within the federal system, our future both governmentally and economically will not be bright. It is true, of course, that we have surmounted other crises in the operation of the federal system but there is no point in minimizing

* Dr. Pollock, vice chairman of the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, is professor of political science and chairman of the Department of Political Science at the University of Michigan. In 1947-49 he was a member of the Commission on the Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government (First Hoover Commission). This article is Dr. Pollock's address before the National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, Phoenix, November 16, 1960.

our problems or lathering our egos about what this lusty old federal system has done in the past. The question is: How can we adapt it to meet the problems specifically of the decade which is before us? And what goals should we set for our activities?

Few persons would question the achievements and advantages of our federal system. It has certainly facilitated our growth and development and it has preserved our local autonomy. It is also true, of course, that with the urban trend, and with the institutional lag, we are now thinking not merely in terms of federal-state relations, but state-local relations, federal-local relations and interlocal relations.

In the present decade the best opinion is that our nondefense expenditures will more than double and to meet this impressive challenge some basic changes are necessary. Since the larger part of nondefense expenditures are borne by the state and local governments, our sights must necessarily be directed at them as well as at the federal government. As the Kestnbaum report put it: "A realistic program of decentralization in our contemporary society depends too on the readiness and ability of the states and their subdivisions to assume their full share of the total task of government."

A brief review of the developments of recent years in our federal system will illuminate not only the road we have been following but also the nature of the problem which confronts us today. We are now concerned with the great questions of policy and, instead of the problems being legal as they were during a

considerable period of our history, the questions are chiefly political, economic and administrative. We have come to talk about "cooperative federalism," thus emphasizing the mutual and complementary undertakings which have to be carried on in furtherance of our common aims.

Although we have been working rather actively at the problem of cooperative federalism for a decade, we have only begun to set our sights on the major areas of difficulty and to perceive why the difficulty exists. So vast and numerous are the day-to-day operating problems, and so complicated is our federal system, it is not surprising that to date we have not been particularly specific in identifying the goals which must be reached if we are to have a strong federal system.

* * *

Characteristic of current difficult problems are the following: (1) The multiplicity and overlapping of local units of government in the large metropolitan areas; (2) restrictions upon effective local self-government by archaic provisions of state laws and constitutions; (3) emergence of new and expanding governmental responsibilities requiring effective co-operation among several levels of government such as education, water pollution and mass transportation; (4) the haphazard growth of federal grants-in-aid whereunder new grants are continually being initiated without terminating or revising old grants that have fully served their purpose; (5) overlapping taxes and tax sources, with several levels of government sometimes competing for the

same source. This short list is illustrative and by no means exhaustive.

In establishing the goals of a new cooperative federalism, we should be aware of the principal landmarks of our recent history in developing intergovernmental relations. As Brooke Graves has indicated in a valuable series of articles appearing in the *NATIONAL CIVIC REVIEW*,¹ it is only during the last twenty years that scholars and officials have even begun to use the term "intergovernmental relations." We are all aware of the yeoman service which has been done in this field by the Council of State Governments but it was only ten years ago when I was a member of the First Hoover Commission, that I made a plea to set up a task force on federal-state relations.

This was then, as it is today, a politically contentious subject and not all of the members of the commission were anxious for us to open up this broad and important field. Nevertheless, Mr. Hoover created a task force on the subject and designated Frank Bane, then director of the Council of State Governments, to prepare a report. Without attempting to explain the ins and outs of that experience, suffice it to say that, when the final report of the First Hoover Commission was issued, there was at least included in it a sentence which proposed that "a continuing agency be created" to deal with what were then considered to be serious problems of federal-state relations.

¹ See *Maze of Governments*, reprinted from the *REVIEW*, May, June and July, 1960, 25 pages, 50 cents.

At that time many people were still thinking in purely legal terms and the enormous problems of metropolitan areas were only then beginning to loom large on the horizon. Reforms were still being directed at each unit of government by itself without directing equal attention to relationships between units of government.

In 1953 the Kestnbaum Commission was appointed and its report appeared in June of 1955—a report referred to as "the first official undertaking of its kind since the Constitutional Convention of 1787." Shortly thereafter President Eisenhower made an important address to the Conference of Governors in Seattle in September 1955, in which he made it clear "that we must work together."

* * *

In the following years the various reports and recommendations of the Kestnbaum Commission were considered by Congress and, without waiting for any legislative action, the President began staffing the Executive Office for work in the field of intergovernmental relations.

In 1957 President Eisenhower spoke to the Governors' Conference at Williamsburg and called for vigorous action in redressing imbalances in responsibilities between the national government on the one hand and states on the other. "First," he said, "we must see that government remains responsive to the pressing needs of the American people. Second, we must see that, in meeting those needs, each level of government performs its proper function—no more, no less."

Following this speech the so-called Joint Federal-State Action Committee was created and charged with searching out ways and means by which functional and fiscal relationships could be improved. Also a series of important joint hearings were held by the Senate and House Committees on Government Operations looking in the direction of the establishment of some kind of a permanent commission to deal with the problems of intergovernmental relations.

This careful review by the congressional committees led to the introduction of the so-called Fountain-Muskie bill which on September 24, 1959, became Public Law 380, 86th Congress. President Eisenhower, in accordance with the provisions of the law, appointed the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations in December.

In the light of this development the activities of the Joint Federal-State Action Committee were brought to a close with the expectation that many of the problems with which it had been concerned would be picked up by the new commission. In the nine months which have followed, the commission has organized itself, established a work program and is now engaged in a series of studies which will provide the foundation for commission recommendations for legislative and administrative action addressed, as appropriate, to the President, the Congress, governors, state legislatures or to local legislative and executive officials.

This brief review will serve to indicate the path of governmental developments in the field of inter-

governmental relations. Side by side with these developments, of course, have been a vast number of actions in the states and the localities in the development of working relationships. A glance at *The Book of the States 1960-61* shows the progress which has been made in developing working relationships between different levels of government. Some 56 pages are required to describe the known agencies and committees of this nature. For one to attempt to master the total documentation in this growing field is a colossal job. Nevertheless, at long last the problems have become so serious and critical that from all quarters alarms are being sounded, surveys are being made and action programs are being formulated.

* * *

It is in this critical situation that the new Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations is undertaking its work. And since it is the latest development of its kind in our federal system, I should like to explain its organization, its jurisdiction, its work plans and the direction in which it is moving. To do so, I believe, will reveal the goals which Congress and the commission have set in their attack on the problems of our federal system.

First of all, Congress has created "a permanent bipartisan commission." As the act provides in its declaration of purpose: "Because the complexity of modern life intensifies the need in a federal form of government for the fullest cooperation and coordination of activities between the levels of government, and because population growth and

scientific developments portend an increasingly complex society in future years, it is essential that an appropriate agency be established to give *continuing* attention to inter-governmental problems."

The act continues as follows: "It is intended that the commission, in the performance of its duties, will:

"1. Bring together representatives of the federal, state and local governments for the consideration of common problems;

"2. Provide a forum for discussing the administration and coordination of federal grant and other programs requiring intergovernmental cooperation;

"3. Give critical attention to the conditions and controls involved in the administration of federal grant programs;

"4. Make available technical assistance to the executive and legislative branches of the federal government in the review of proposed legislation to determine its over-all effect on the federal system;

"5. Encourage discussion and study at an early stage of emerging public problems that are likely to require intergovernmental cooperation;

"6. Recommend, within the framework of the constitution, the most desirable allocation of governmental functions, responsibilities and revenues among the several levels of government; and

"7. Recommend methods of coordinating and simplifying tax laws and administrative practices to achieve a more orderly and less competitive fiscal relationship between the levels of government and

to reduce the burden of compliance for taxpayers."

These seven points rather broadly but clearly, and I think admirably, point the direction in which future work on the federal system is to be undertaken. They are the goals toward which our official efforts are now being directed. With wide public support behind them, they can lead us toward a new cooperative federalism.

* * *

The Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations is composed of 26 members, twenty of whom are appointed by the President according to the specifications of the law and six are appointed by the president of the Senate and the speaker of the House. The appointments have been made according to the different jurisdictions within the country so as to represent executive and legislative bodies at all levels of government, and three private citizens to represent the public at large, "all of whom," as the law provides, "shall have had experience or familiarity with relations between the levels of government." Thus there are cabinet members, senators, congressmen, governors, mayors, state legislators and elected county officers.

The law also provides for the bipartisan nature of the commission and that the three private members are to be appointed without regard to political affiliation. Members are appointed for a two-year term but are eligible for reappointment.

It might be questioned why the Congress saw fit to create this unique body to work in this important field. Although recognizing the importance

of continuing attention to inter-governmental problems, the Kestnbaum Commission was not unanimous in its view as to the specific kind of machinery required. A majority favored the creation of a special assistant to the President and not a commission; six others favored creation of a permanent commission. A little thought and observation, however, will establish that, although the new commission is large, its size has the virtue of embracing all operating parts of the federal system in an adequate way. Furthermore, it consists of busy, active people who are concerned with the day-to-day work of our federal system at all levels.

* * *

Finally, I believe that the present commission is exceedingly fortunate in the quality of its membership. Men and women of great ability and experience from all parts of the country are now pulled together in a common effort to improve the operation of our federal system and they bring to their work the strength, support and assistance not only of their individual offices but also of their levels of government.

Since December 1959 when the commission had its first meeting, a small, highly competent commission staff has been recruited and has proceeded to formulate, for decision by the commission, recommendations on a number of current problems of manageable proportions. The commission staff under an executive director is organized around the three main divisions of its work—taxation and revenue, governmental structure and metropolitan areas.

Members of the commission ex-

amined some 24 different areas in which work should be done. Out of these 24, some ten were given priority, partly because they could be undertaken at once, partly because they were of manageable proportions and partly because considerable work has already been done on each one of them. Certain new items will be considered from time to time for addition to the commission's work program, at the same time that progress is being made in the study and consideration of those items which have been given priority.

At its December 1960 meeting, the commission will consider draft reports on four of the ten items which were given priority. These four are: (1) The estate tax credit question, (2) modification of federal grants-in-aid for public health services, (3) periodic congressional reassessment of federal grants-in-aid to state and local governments, and (4) investment of idle cash balances by local units of government.

Using its own resources and also those of other institutions and organizations working in the field, the commission staff is now hard at work pulling together the necessary data and recommendations so that the commission in regular order can tackle the principal problems which are now acute in the American federal system. Obviously, it needs the help of everyone interested in improving the operation of the federal system.

Now that the commission has become a coordinating center for matters in this field, it is hoped that we can assemble, digest and coordinate the vast bodies of information now in existence and direct the at-

tention of the commission and, if the commission so decides, the Congress, the President and the states, toward the concrete solution of many serious current problems.

As the commission proceeds with its work, great difficulties are bound to be encountered. No one can proceed in our maze of governments without stepping on toes or arousing local or ancient prejudices. But as our able Chairman Frank Bane has said, "In America the art of politics is the art of compromise. And it is only through a rationalization of two extremes in a common agreement that bodies of this nature can be effective and perform the duties assigned to them."

Finally, it should be clear to everyone that our problems are not merely federal-state problems but that they are also state-local problems and federal-local problems. The relatively simple pattern of relationships of past decades has been superseded by a labyrinth of interrelationships quite bewildering in nature, to say the least. The result is that we must all give more time to our relationships with neighboring and overlapping jurisdictions whatever they may be. No unit of government is sufficient unto itself. Although certain working solutions have actually been evolving, as for instance in the division of tax resources, we need to strengthen and extend these and other co-operative tendencies.

It is also clear that we must recognize the increasing mobility of people and of capital, and the fact that what happens in one state or one area concerns all areas. Furthermore, as we move into this new decade, we

must be certain that there are no roadblocks to our progress and this means we must so adjust our governmental arrangements that they will promote and not impede progress. With a predicted doubling of non-defense expenditures in the next decade, it is obvious that vast changes will be necessary, particularly in state and local governments, if these funds are to be properly provided.

* * *

Perhaps a word of warning at this point is desirable. Too often Americans have rushed to the solution of their governmental problems, when they have once been recognized and identified, with too many simultaneous remedies and agencies. We sometimes proliferate and overlap the organizations which attack a single problem and then have to go through the painful process of having to eliminate, reorganize or consolidate all the diverse machinery we have hastily created.

In the present instance, Congress has thoughtfully and deliberately created a coordinating center for the federal system and care should now be exercised to avoid gratifying certain present urges to create new commissions, agencies or even departments which would serve to clutter up the governmental landscape and delay sound solutions to our major intergovernmental problems.

Although our commission is not committed to any particular plan or any particular road to follow, except as the statute directs, all signs point toward strengthening the capabilities of state and local governments. It also becomes clear that a national attack on federal problems

requires vigorous state and local action—not just federal.

It is strange that we have come to recognize the interdependence of the world before we have accepted the interdependence of our states, counties, cities and the federal government. It is now our duty to give effect to the ideal of cooperative federalism just as we are now supporting cooperative action at the international level.

Clearly our commission cannot work a revolution within the framework of the constitution. It has now been designated the coordinating center for the federal system. It can at least be clear and firm in its recommendations, and I trust it may have the help of every sincere friend of efficient self-government.

GOALS FOR METROPOLIS

(Continued from page 594)

started and to wrestle with top priority problems long enough to understand them and to get going along constructive lines.

6. When these steps have been taken, the business, political and other leaderships of the area may well decide that some new governmental machinery or "authorities" are called for. This can be left to the future and will require state and local debate, compromise, agreement and action. But once a line of action has been agreed on and a consensus reached among political and civic leaders, there should be no difficulty in bringing the public to accept the proposed program and to give it intelligent backing and loyal support. If the program drawn, and the projects decided upon, are sound and imaginative, they will command

the loyalties and admiration of mankind.

There are two important cautions:

First, "make no little plans; they have no magic to stir men's blood" as Burnham said over 50 years ago. And we may add: bold plans linked with destiny through careful research are the only plans that can cope with the metropolitan explosion and, incidentally, pay for themselves over the coming years.

Second, if new and specialized authorities are created, design them—as has the state of Washington—so that they may have local democratic political ties and may be functionally "open ended," designed to take on added metropolitan functions in time.

Conclusion. We face a critical period of American life. We must choose in the next few years between national greatness and national mediocrity. This choice involves both our international posture and contribution and our domestic life, for the simple reason that we cannot impress the world with our ideas, technology and ideals unless we are manifestly successful on the home front.

With the metropolitan explosion we are now confronted with a most difficult series of human, economic and political problems. In each area we are beginning to understand our failures and to see how we can work our way through to conspicuous victories. These are our metropolitan goals—human, economic and political.

They stand before us as a new challenge, demanding of us no more and no less of faith and devotion than our ancestors gave to this nation over past generations.

News in Review

City, State and Nation H. M. Olmsted, Editor

Voters Ballot On Amendments

Michigan Furthers 'Con-Con' Prospects

BESIDES electing a host of persons to numerous state and local offices the voters had various statewide issues to decide on November 8, ranging in importance from betting and bingo to the calling of constitutional conventions.

At least ten states approved so-called "continuity-of-government" constitutional amendments, authorizing their legislators to make special provisions, including increased lines of succession to the governorship, for maintaining state and local government in case of enemy attack.

As usual, numerous amendments were proposed as to matters with which constitutions should not be concerned. Georgia presented the almost incredible total of 87 amendments to the electorate: nineteen of these were of statewide application and 68 of local application. The nineteen required a majority of the total state vote; the 68 were voted upon only in the areas to which they applied. Louisiana presented 55 amendments; 24 were of local application only but were voted upon by the entire state electorate.

An outstanding amendment was one adopted in Michigan, paving the way for a constitutional convention, the calling of which will be decided in April 1961 by a majority of those voting on the question. This removes the road-block of a court ruling that the convention call must be made by a majority of all persons voting at the election as a whole. Other notable achievements include a home rule amendment in Kansas and a state civil service initiative measure in Washington.

Some of the results reported from individual states are as follows:

Alabama: Out-of-state corporations were authorized to make investments in Alabama, even if conducting no operations there.

Arkansas: Three proposed amendments were defeated, including one to allow local school districts to vote to close schools and substitute tuition grants to forestall court-ordered integration; one to authorize the legislature and county governments to raise officials' salaries; and one to permit municipalities to levy higher taxes. An initiative proposal for a minimum wage of one dollar an hour after two years was also defeated.

California: The proposal to divide the 40 state Senate seats evenly between the northern part of the state, with about 40 per cent of the state's population, and the southern part, with 60 per cent, was badly defeated even though it would have partially removed the discrimination against populous counties.

Colorado: Defeated five proposed amendments: (1) Providing administrative reorganization of the state merit system; (2) permitting alternative forms of county government and changing certain county and municipal requirements; (3) creating a Department of Wildlife Conservation; (4) permitting retail sales and use taxes for counties and municipalities; and (5) authorizing the governor to appoint a cabinet of twelve department directors exempt from civil service requirements. A proposition to institute daylight saving time was also defeated.

Florida: Approved amendments to authorize additional judges for intermediate appellate courts, to permit civil suits in branch court houses in three counties and to provide for absentee registration for military personnel and their families. Defeated were proposals to freeze into the

constitution the present statutory method of distributing certain state collected racing taxes to the counties and to give the legislature budgetary control of the independent Game and Freshwater Fish Commission.

Georgia: Approved amendments to earmark motor fuel tax revenue for highway purposes; to permit establishment of industrial development commissions to make loans available to industrial development agencies; and to authorize the legislature to grant state funds to cities to aid in financial problems. Out of nineteen proposals requiring a statewide vote, at least three of which were really local in character, five were defeated. Some of the statewide amendments were hardly of constitutional caliber.

* * *

Idaho: Approved two proposed amendments and defeated two (see separate item below).

Indiana: Approved amendment providing that state circuit judges must have been admitted to the practice of law.

Iowa: Defeated a proposal for a constitutional convention.

Kansas: Approved amendments for continuity of government in case of enemy attack and for municipal home rule. A proposal to increase the constitutional compensation for legislators, with a maximum of \$900 for a regular session, was defeated. The home rule amendment empowers cities to determine their local affairs, subject to enactments of statewide concern by the legislature applicable uniformly to all cities and to uniform legislative tax and debt limitations. The legislature is restricted to establishing four classes of cities in imposing limits and prohibitions on the taxing power of cities.

Kentucky: The proposal to call a limited constitutional convention lost by a narrow margin.

Maine: Approved a continuity-of-government amendment.

Maryland: Fifteen constitutional amendments were adopted; six relate to single specified counties or to Baltimore city. The others would: Empower the legislature to authorize urban renewal projects on the part of counties and municipalities, in addition to Baltimore which already has such authority; prohibit vetoed bills from being submitted to a newly elected legislature; clarify the method of filling a vacancy in the office of governor and add the state comptroller and the attorney general to the line of succession after the president of the Senate and the speaker of the House, as at present; reorganize the Court of Appeals, increasing its membership from five to seven; permit the legislature to classify land for tax purposes; give counties authority to issue bonds for industrial development purposes; and allow the state Board of Public Works to authorize borrowing in anticipation of taxes for appropriations already made by the legislature.

Michigan: The "con-con" amendment carried by approximately 1,300,000 to 950,000. It provides for submitting the question of calling a constitutional convention at the April 1961 election and each sixteenth year thereafter, such question to be decided by a majority of those voting thereon; the convention to consist of 144 delegates based on the membership of both houses of the legislature. An amendment to increase state responsibility for district school bond issues carried by a somewhat greater margin; but a third amendment, to permit an increase in the state sales tax from 3 to 4 per cent, carried by a smaller margin.

Missouri: Approved a continuity-of-government amendment, also one permitting the legislature to hold longer sessions, to set its own salaries and to receive more travel reimbursement.

Nebraska: Approved eight amendments, including one raising legislators' salaries to \$200 per month; one permitting cities and counties to issue revenue bonds to finance acquisition of sites and plants

for lease to private industry; and one on continuity of government.

New Hampshire: Approved four amendments by heavy margins. One imposes limits on mileage payments for legislators to the extent of 90 legislative days for regular sessions or until July 1, whichever occurs first, and to fifteen days for special sessions. A second is a continuity-of-government amendment. A third permits a jury trial in civil cases involving over \$500 instead of \$100 as at present. A fourth permits the legislature to deduct temporary residents from district populations in determining apportionment for legislative representation.

* * *

New Jersey: Approved an amendment to enable the legislature to give property owners over 65 years old with incomes under \$5,000 per annum tax exemption of \$800 assessed valuation on real property.

New Mexico: Approved a continuity-of-government amendment but defeated a proposal for four-year terms for state officials instead of the present two years.

New York: Approved by about 1,650,000 to 1,450,000 a proposition to increase by \$5 million the state's subsidy for public housing, thus safeguarding the construction of some 5,000 dwelling units now planned. Carried by a much greater margin was an authorization of \$75 million in state bonds for acquisition of land for state and local park purposes.

Oklahoma: Authorizations for a withholding system for state income taxes and for the legislature to call itself into special session were both denied.

Tennessee: Approved an amendment to extend the terms of county trustees from two to four years.

Utah: Approved a continuity-of-government amendment and an initiative measure to provide for placing certain employees of sheriffs' offices under the merit system. Defeated a proposed amend-

ment that would have permitted the legislature to exempt property from taxation beyond what exemptions are specified in the constitution.

Vermont: Authorized cities and towns to allow pari-mutuel betting on horse races.

Washington: Approved three initiatives: to provide a merit system for most state employees, to establish daylight saving time and to limit the height of dams on certain tributaries of the Columbia River. Defeated an initiative to permit sale of liquor in taverns and a Senate-proposed amendment to permit ownership of land by aliens.

West Virginia: Approved three amendments, one recognizing "divine providence" in a new preamble, one providing for continuity of government and one permitting revision of more than one constitutional section or article dealing with a single subject, or related matters, by a single future amendment.

Wyoming: Approved an amendment to permit corporations to engage in more than one line of business. Defeated proposals to raise the municipal debt limit from 2 to 4 per cent of assessed valuation and to increase the maximum municipal tax levy from 8 mills to 12 mills per dollar (except for debt service).

Idaho Splits Vote on Constitution Amendments

Idaho voters approved two constitutional amendments on November 8. The first would require the state legislature, subject to certain limits and conditions, to take action to "insure continuity of state and local governmental operations in periods of emergency resulting from disasters caused by enemy attack or in periods of emergency resulting from the imminent threat of such disasters." The second removes the office of county surveyor from the constitution, leaving it a matter for legislative action.

The voters emphatically disapproved two other constitutional proposals. One

would have raised the state debt limit from \$2 million to 3 per cent of the assessed valuation of all property in the state; this was defeated two to one. A second proposal providing that citizens nineteen years of age or older be permitted to vote, if otherwise qualified, was also soundly defeated.

BOYD A. MARTIN

University of Idaho

Massachusetts Legislators Shun Con-Con

Among twenty questions put to candidates for the Massachusetts legislature by the State League of Women Voters was one asking preference as to revising the state constitution by means of an elected constitutional convention or by amendments initiated by the legislature. The answers appeared to depend chiefly on whether the candidate was an incumbent legislator or not.

The convention method was strongly favored by non-incumbents and opposed by incumbents. Forty non-incumbent Democrats and 39 Republicans favored a convention; 26 Republicans and 13 Democrats among the non-incumbents opposed one.

The legislative process calling for passage of an amendment by both branches of two successive legislatures, followed by vote of the people, was favored by 58 incumbent Republicans and 31 incumbent Democrats and was opposed by only two Republican and four Democratic incumbents.

It was pointed out that legislation for calling a constitutional convention died in committee this year; and various constitutional reforms by proposed amendments have also suffered defeat.

State Legislative Leaders Meet in Chicago

The second annual meeting of the National Conference of State Legislative Leaders was held in Chicago, No-

vember 10 to 14, with representatives from 34 states and Puerto Rico.

A leading topic of discussion concerned claims of interference by the federal government in the internal operations of state and local governments. A resolution particularly denouncing interference with operations under interstate compacts referred to recent efforts to assert special controls over interstate agencies financed by the states. It made special reference to the Port of New York Authority.

The President of the United States was asked to appoint a liaison representative to keep in touch with the conference.

The third annual meeting will be held next fall in the state capitol at Carson City, Nevada. Walter J. Mahoney, majority leader in the New York State Senate, was reelected president.

Constitution Study Urged By Nebraska GOP

In the platform adopted by the Nebraska Republican Post-primary Convention the state's Legislative Council and other interested groups were urged to make an immediate study of the need for a constitutional convention. It was pointed out that the present constitution of Nebraska was adopted 80 years ago and that the last convention was in 1919-20. Since then a "hodgepodge of amendments" has occurred. The constitution as amended was characterized as "replete with inconsistencies."

'Challenge Primary' Effective in Connecticut

Connecticut's so-called "challenge primary," which follows closely the National Municipal League's *Model Direct Primary Election System*, was extensively used in the legislative primaries of 1960. Town committees of the parties put forward their slates of candidates subject to possible contest by candidates coming forward by petition. If no contest, there

is no primary, thereby saving the cost of purely perfunctory primary elections.

The secretary of state reports now that in the case of the 36 seats in the Senate, nominees by the Democratic party committees were unopposed in 29; in the Republican party, committee designees were unopposed in all districts. In the House there were 261 of 279 districts uncontested on the Democratic side and 270 on the Republican side.

The challengers, as was to be expected, were sometimes successful and sometimes not, but the facilities for appealing from the party management's recommendations to the rank-and-file voters were found practical.

R.S.C.

Model State Radiation Control Act Drafted

The Committee of State Officials on Suggested State Legislation approved a model State Radiation Control Act at its annual meeting in August, according to the Council of State Governments. The action marks the culmination of an effort initiated shortly after the Atomic Energy Act was amended in 1959. At that time Congress adopted amendments to permit the Atomic Energy Commission to enter into an agreement with the governor of any state whereby the state would assume responsibility for regulation, in the interest of health and safety, with respect to one or more of the following: (1) by-product materials, (2) source materials, (3) special nuclear materials in quantities not sufficient to form a critical mass. The suggested State Radiation Control Act authorizes such an agreement and provides the necessary administrative arrangement in several alternative ways.

500 Attend Meeting on Legislative Methods and Aids

The thirteenth annual meeting of the National Legislative Conference, held in Chicago August 31 to September 2, was

attended by more than 500 delegates from 45 states, according to *State Government News*.

The opening general session dealt with the final report of a Conference Committee on Legislative Processes and Procedures—*American State Legislatures in Mid-Twentieth Century*. The report contained eleven recommendations for strengthening legislatures and called for the revival of coequality for the legislative branch with the executive and judicial branches of state government. Each recommendation was accompanied by a detailed explanation of the committee's discussion on the separate issues involved.

A series of concurrent workshops was held on fiscal review, bill drafting, post-auditing, legislative reference, legislative research and statutory revision. Special workshops for legislators and legislative clerks and secretaries were held. A special problems workshop discussed research and drafting interrelationships.

Resolutions adopted by the conference include one opposing the use of contempt citations against employees of the states or any state agency to compel the surrender, against the orders of their governors, of the working papers of any state or interstate agency. It opposed unnecessary requirements or conditions to congressional consent to interstate compacts. Another expressed opposition to congressional bills that would restrict the powers of the states to require out-of-state vendors to collect state use taxes on sales of goods to purchasers within the state.

Senator Floyd R. Gibson of Missouri was elected president of the conference for 1960-61.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

LONG BRANCH, NEW JERSEY, (1950 population 23,090) voted 5,671 to 3,708 on November 8 to adopt the council-manager plan after a half-century under

commission government. A five-member city commission is to be replaced by a nine-member council and a city manager on July 1, 1961.

By a vote of 3,442 to 798 LEVITTOWN, NEW JERSEY, (1958 population 14,984) approved adoption of council-manager government as set forth in that state's optional Faulkner Act Plan E. The charter will go into effect January 1, 1962.

COLDWATER, MICHIGAN, (1950 population 8,594) on November 8 voted 1,583 to 1,400 to adopt a council-manager charter. It will go into effect January 1, 1961.

UNION CITY, TENNESSEE, (7,665) voted 1,594 to 579 on October 18 to supersede its commission government by the council-manager plan. Following the election of a new council on November 15, the new plan went into effect on November 29.

CAMPBELL, CALIFORNIA, (7,662) has adopted the council-manager plan by ordinance.

SOUTH WINDSOR, CONNECTICUT, (4,066) adopted a council-manager charter by a vote of 1,584 to 288 on October 3.

MENTOR, OHIO, (4,353) voted 633 to 382 on October 24 to adopt a council-manager charter.

The ICMA reports adoption of the council-manager plan by ROXBORO, QUEBEC, CANADA, (approximately 3,000).

* * *

CUMBERLAND, RHODE ISLAND, on November 8 voted 4,712 to 2,936 against adoption of a council-manager charter.

WALDWICK, NEW JERSEY, voters turned down a shift from the mayor-council to council-manager government on November 8. On the same day, RIDGEWOOD, NEW JERSEY, voted 5,962 to 5,830 against changing from the commission to a council-manager plan. Ridgewood has a city manager by virtue of a local ordinance.

HUBBARD, OHIO, voted 2,078 to 473 on October 11 against adoption of a council-manager home rule charter. It had been presented by the local charter

commission but was strongly opposed by the Democratic party organization.

WILLOUGHBY HILLS, OHIO, defeated a proposed council-manager charter by a vote of 994 to 421 on October 24.

GRANITE CITY, ILLINOIS, rejected a proposal to adopt the council-manager plan by a vote of 5,098 to 2,226 on October 24. The city now has a board of aldermen with sixteen members.

DANVILLE, KENTUCKY, defeated the council-manager plan by a vote of 1,369 to 1,040 on November 8.

TULLAHOMA, TENNESSEE, rejected by a vote of 2,645 to 977 on November 8 a proposal to replace mayor-aldermanic government by the council-manager plan.

A petition calling for a referendum on the question of changing from aldermanic to council-manager government has been circulated in PULASKI, TENNESSEE.

A proposed council-manager charter was defeated by a vote of 2,049 to 1,018 in PARAGOULD, ARKANSAS, on November 8.

In JUNEAU, ALASKA, where a council-manager charter was ratified by a vote of 775 to 676 on October 4, the situation is clouded by the result of a separate advisory vote on the same day which was 640 to 480 in favor of mayor-council as against council-manager government. As the establishment of a city manager can be put off for a year, there is the possibility that the charter will be amended in that period to delete the manager provision.

Eighteen out of the 22 cities chosen for the final round in the All-America City award competition, sponsored by the National Municipal League and *Look Magazine*, in which eleven winners are to be chosen, have the council-manager form of government.¹

The 46th annual conference of the International City Managers' Association, held in San Francisco October 16-19, was

¹ See the REVIEW, October 1960, page 526.

attended by 540 managers and had the record over-all attendance of 1,069 people.

Syracuse, N. Y., Adopts Strong-Mayor Charter

Three years after the appointment of a nine-member charter commission by former Mayor Donald H. Mead, the resultant charter was approved on November 8 by the citizens in a close vote—23,631 to 22,777. It features a strong mayor, a council president and a nine-member council, five elected from districts and four at large.

The charter commission issued a first interim report on July 2, 1958, and a second one on May 8, 1959, after which a series of public hearings were held and the tentative charter was reworked, resulting in a final draft which was submitted to Mayor A. A. Henninger and the city council on May 27, 1960. After making a number of revisions the council approved the charter on September 6 and submitted it to referendum vote at the November election.

The new charter removes restrictions on the number of terms the mayor or councilmen may serve. In financial matters it creates the office of director of budget and administration, who will prepare and administer a performance-type budget, maintain a six-year capital improvement program and perform such other management duties as the mayor may give him. The charter assigns revenue collection, accounting, disbursement and pre-audit functions to the department of finance; directs the elective city auditor to conduct a continuous post-audit; prescribes that the council must engage an outside certified public accountant in the third year of the auditor's term to audit and examine the auditor's methods; and removes limitation on capital improvement bonds other than by state law.

Urban renewal functions will be administered by a new department of urban improvement; it will have charge of slum

clearance and rehabilitation, code enforcement and issuance of licenses.

The city council is permitted to accept recommendations of an advisory city planning commission in opposition to those of the mayor's planning commissioner.

The new charter was endorsed by the two Syracuse newspapers, the chamber of commerce and the local Governmental Research Bureau.

Jersey City to End Commission Government

Jersey City, second largest of New Jersey municipalities, voted 84,589 to 9,694 on November 8 to change from the commission plan, in force for 47 years, to the state's optional mayor-council Plan C. This was recommended by a charter commission elected last year over strong political opposition. The result on November 8 was the most overwhelming in the city's history.

The change will take effect with the municipal election next May. The voters will choose a mayor and nine councilmen—six elected by wards and three at large. The present commission of five members has shown itself unable to cope with critical municipal problems.

Tucson Approves 4-Year Terms, Other Changes

Voters of Tucson, Arizona, approved six proposed amendments to the city's home rule charter at a special election on November 1. A total of 8,289 voters, fewer than 15 per cent of all eligible to vote, participated in the election.

The charter amendments provide for a four-year term for mayor and councilmen in place of the former term of two years; a department of finance and the position of post auditor; a department of parks and recreation, a combination of two formerly separate departments; a limitation of 60 days on the filing of tort claims for damages against the city; a reduction to 10 per cent from

the former 25 per cent of the amount of money withheld from contractors pending job acceptance; and the repeal of the charter section requiring a city board of health, in recognition of the transfer of this function to the county several years ago.

PAUL KELSO

University of Arizona

Seven Charter Commissions Elected in N. J., Penna.

Bayonne, Camden, Saddle Brook, Trenton, Parsippany-Troy Hills and Westfield, New Jersey, voted on November 8 to establish charter commissions.

Westfield in particular demonstrated overwhelming support (9,655 to 1,825) for a charter commission, to revise or replace the town's 57-year-old charter. The approval and election of the commission followed nearly ten years of study and work by the Westfield League of Women Voters. The present government consists of a mayor and a town council of four members elected by wards.

The Bayonne charter commission is the second one to be elected in nine years. The city has had the commission plan of government since 1915.

Coatesville, Pennsylvania, voted 2,188 to 792 in favor of a charter commission.

Miscellaneous Municipal Election Results

The voters of Denver, Colorado, decisively rejected on November 8 a proposed charter amendment to permit partisan city elections rather than nonpartisan as at present. The vote was 100,448 to 42,468.

Warwick, Rhode Island, approved a strong-mayor charter that had been drafted by a study commission and approved by the state legislature. It will replace the present weak-mayor plan in January. The vote was approximately 11,000 to 10,000.

North Canton, Ohio, voted 3,459 to 532 to adopt a new mayor-council charter providing for a full-time director of ad-

ministration. It will take full effect on January 1, 1962.

Fluoridation of city water was at issue in a number of cities. It was rejected in Cincinnati, Ohio; Covington, Kentucky; and in four Wisconsin communities—Waukesha, Antigo, Weyauwega and Montello.

Bingo and bar-and-grill matters were deliberated upon by the voters in several New Jersey municipalities, including Bayonne, where a proposal to allow women to drink at bars was defeated, and Branch Brook, where a seven-vote margin authorized bingo on Sundays.

Seven Cities Win AMA Public Relations Citations

Excellence of their public information programs have won citations for seven American cities from the American Municipal Association's Committee on Public Relations, headed by Abe S. Rosen, Philadelphia deputy city representative. A panel of four judges from the fields of publicity and journalism made the selections.

Cincinnati was named the winner among cities of over 500,000 population for its multi-form program, notably including weekly "city manager's breakfasts." Miami won in the 250,000-500,000 group, with its "Miami Invites You" program. Dearborn, Michigan, was selected in the 100,000-250,000 class for its program to attract more citizen use of city recreation facilities.

In the 25,000-100,000 group Coral Gables, Florida, took first place with Riverside and Richmond, both in California, receiving honorable mention. Coral Gables and Riverside have affiliations in the Sister City Program with Cartagena, Colombia, and Sendai, Japan, respectively. Richmond's award was for solving a mass transit crisis.

Western Springs, Illinois, won among cities under 25,000 for "remarkable results for a community of 10,000 virtually absorbed by Chicago."

Court Administrator Urges Consolidations in Colorado

An initial report on Colorado's courts by the state's first judicial administrator, Clyde O. Martz, includes recommendations for court reorganization. The report, submitted to the Colorado Supreme Court and the legislature under a 1959 law creating the office of judicial administrator, calls for appointment of seven new district judges, construction of nine additional courtrooms and an increase in the annual salaries of district judges from \$12,000 to \$15,000 and of Supreme Court justices from \$15,000 to \$18,000.

A major recommendation urges a constitutional amendment to consolidate county courts in each of the state's 63 counties with the larger district courts. Under the reorganization proposed by the judicial administrator the state would assume responsibility for the salaries of county judges and clerks and receive a substantial proportion of court receipts from fees. This, his report notes, would enable all parts of the statewide judicial system to operate under comparable standards and costs. He points out that in more lightly populated counties—24 have populations under 5,000—services rendered by the county courts are at almost prohibitive per capita costs. As an example the Denver County court handled more than 5,000 cases in 1959 while Hinsdale County court handled only four cases.

Chief Justices, Court Administrators Meet

The twelfth annual meeting of the Conference of Chief Justices was held in Baltimore, August 23-27. Representatives from 49 states attended, according to *State Government News*.

Topics discussed included the writing, consideration and adoption of opinions, judicial review of sentences in criminal cases, responsibility of the mentally ill

for criminal conduct, use of research services of various organizations in the area of judicial administration, personnel problems of courts and administrative offices and the development of such offices for courts.

The conference has formed a number of subcommittees to assist the Committee on Improvement of the Administration of Justice in exploring constitutional provisions for exercise of the rule-making power by state supreme courts, the power of courts of last resort to assign judges, establishment of intermediate courts of appeal, unified state court systems, judicial conferences, improvement of courts of minor jurisdictions, judicial selection and tenure, and judicial compensation and retirement.

Chief Justice John E. Martin of Wisconsin was elected chairman, succeeding Chief Justice Harvey McGehee of Mississippi.

In conjunction with the meeting of chief justices the National Conference of Court Administrative Officers held its sixth annual meeting. Subjects dealt with included recent developments in the states and techniques for reducing court congestion and jury costs. Certain topics were taken up jointly with the Conference of Chief Justices. Robert A. Coogan, Rhode Island, was elected chairman.

Encroachment on Park Areas Is Attacked

A nation-wide information campaign to alert the public on the seriousness of "park land encroachment" was launched on October 27 in New York City at a luncheon, sponsored by the National Recreation Association and *Reader's Digest*, for civic, park, recreation and conservation leaders and government officials.

The drive is under the direction of the National Committee on Encroachment of Recreation and Park Lands and Waters, which represents the National

Recreation Association, American Recreation Society, American Institute of Park Executives and the National Conference of State Parks.

Donald F. Sinn, superintendent of recreation of Flint, Michigan, and chairman of the National Encroachment Committee, made public the committee's first national report after over a year of study and said that data obtained by the committee with reference to limited cases of encroachment shows losses of land and facilities valued conservatively at \$9 million.

The chief encroachment offenders were shown to be highways; private, commercial and industrial enterprises; schools and varied public and semi-public agency purposes such as fire houses, armories, parking lots.

The information campaign has been given "tremendous impetus," the speaker said, by an article, "Good-By to Our Public Parks," in the November issue of *Reader's Digest*. This was condensed from "'Progress' and Parks," by Alfred Balk, in the NATIONAL CIVIC REVIEW for October (page 474).

Small School Systems Still Numerous in U. S.

Efforts in various states to reorganize and consolidate small school units have cut the number of local educational systems in the nation to 42,429, according to the Bureau of the Census—a reduction of more than 10,000 since 1957, approximately 27,000 since 1952 and some 70,000 since 1942.

Despite this record, there are still a great many very small systems. In the school year 1959-60, about one-third of all public school systems—14,842 of them—provided education for less than 50 pupils each, and another 7,017 systems did not operate schools but sent any local pupils to schools run by other systems. In

the nation as a whole, only one public school system out of three enrolled 300 or more pupils.

Of the 35,412 systems that operated public schools in 1959-60, nearly two-thirds (21,646) were limited to the elementary grades; these enrolled 3.9 million children or about 11 per cent of all public school pupils.

Of the 42,429 school systems counted by the Census Bureau, 40,054 are "school districts," operating as separate local governments. The other 2,375 public school systems operate as agencies of some other government, such as a city, county or New England township.

Between 1957 and 1960 the number of independent school districts was cut by at least 1,000 in each of four states—Iowa, Michigan, Missouri and Nebraska. Wisconsin approached this record also, with a reduction of 963. More than 2,000 public school systems, however, still exist in each of these states as well as in several others.

Nebraska has more public school systems than any other state with 3,722; this includes 495 nonoperating systems and 1,823 others with schools that enroll less than fifteen pupils.

U. S. Mayors Meet In Washington Next June

The 1961 annual conference of the United States Conference of Mayors, originally scheduled for Miami Beach, Florida, has been moved to Washington, D. C., and will be held June 11-14 at the Statler-Hilton Hotel.

The change was considered advisable by the executive committee in order to coordinate the annual conference with the World Congress of Cities to be held in Washington June 15-20 under the auspices of the International Union of Local Authorities.

Area-wide District For Twin Cities?

1961 Legislature to Consider Its Creation

LEGISLATION creating a Twin Cities Metropolitan Service District will be considered in the 1961 session of the Minnesota legislature. The proposal was developed in response to an emergency involving the contamination of water supply in suburban areas and the suggestion that the Minneapolis-St. Paul Sanitary District be expanded. The proposed district would serve the purpose of an enlarged sanitary district in managing sewage disposal on an area-wide basis but would also be able to assume additional functions assigned to it, including water supply.

Joseph Robbie, executive secretary and counsel of the Commission on Municipal Laws, took the initiative in advocating the multi-purpose service district. He stressed that functions should be assumed by the district "whenever there is agreement within the metropolitan area or by the legislature that such service can be more effectively and economically furnished on an area-wide basis, without disturbing the autonomy of any existing municipality as to any other municipal service function."

He also noted that multiplying *ad hoc* functional agencies can create the same problems that result from a multiplicity of municipal units. Therefore, he advocated a policy declaration by the legislature that no future single purpose taxing and service districts should be established. The legislation under consideration will provide for meeting the sewer emergency and the necessary machinery for handling water supply and other metropolitan problems.

Within the Twin Cities metropolitan area there are several regional agencies which at some point might be merged into a new multi-purpose district. The proposed legislation is not complicated, however, by this more ambitious project. It is suggested that further legislative study should be given to the desirability of an amalgamation of the Metropolitan Airports Commission, the Metropolitan Planning Commission and the Mosquito Control District. As drawn, the legislation provides flexibility for extension of the new district's jurisdiction both geographically and functionally.

The proposed district would include Hennepin, Ramsey, Anoka, Dakota and Washington Counties. Additional counties may be added. Named in the bill as possible functions of the district are: sewage disposal, water supply, public transportation, parks and parkways, comprehensive planning, airports control, mosquito control, law enforcement, tax equalization, assessment and financing. The only function the district would be authorized by the proposed act to perform is sewage disposal. Also authorized is the conduct of engineering studies to furnish the basis for a metropolitan water supply system. Other functions may be authorized by the governing bodies of the constituent counties and the two central cities.

The Twin Cities Metropolitan Service District, under the proposed legislation, would be governed by a metropolitan council composed of the following: one member selected by the board of county commissioners of each component county, the mayors of Minneapolis and St. Paul, one member selected by and from the governing body of Minneapolis and one member similarly selected from St. Paul, one member selected by and from the mayors of the other municipalities in Hennepin and Ramsey Counties, one member selected by and from the mayors

of the municipalities in Anoka, Dakota, Washington and any other counties which may be added to the district.

Based upon extensive testimony by public officials, the Minnesota Commission on Municipal Laws presented the following statement of the principles underlying the proposed Twin Cities Service District:

1. The concept must be that the Metropolitan Service District shall be a public service corporation jointly operated by the component municipalities from which they can obtain major services including sewage disposal and an engineering study relating to water.

2. The service district is not to be a new municipality but is to be a service corporation operated by existing municipalities.

3. No municipality shall lose its identity or autonomy as a result of creation of the service district.

4. The federal principle must be established. All powers not granted specifically or by implication to the service district are reserved to the component municipalities.

5. The first service function to be assigned the service district shall be sewage disposal. This must be separately presented to the legislature.

6. The district shall be empowered to conduct an engineering water study. The decision as to whether or not there should be a metropolitan water supply should await the result of this engineering and feasibility study. This should be submitted to the legislature as a separate proposition so that the sewage disposal and water issues may be separately voted upon.

7. No other function shall be assigned to the service district in the enabling legislation.

8. No function may be assigned to the service district without local consent obtained from a majority of all the component municipal governing bodies and of both the central cities.

9. Only those functions should ever be added which require the performance or distribution of a service which cannot be economically or feasibly performed by the individual municipalities.

10. Public policy should be declared that whenever in the future the legislature and the component municipalities of the metropolitan area agree that a service cannot be adequately performed by the individual municipalities the service should be assigned to the service district subject to local consent.

11. The two central cities and suburban areas must have an approximately equal voice in governing the service district.

New Orleans Area Surveyed

Administration of the major governmental functions in the New Orleans metropolitan area has been surveyed by L. Vaughan Howard and Robert S. Friedman in *Government in Metropolitan New Orleans* (Tulane University, New Orleans, 1959). The area consisting of the city of New Orleans (Orleans Parish) and the suburban Jefferson and St. Bernard Parishes presents a relatively simple governmental pattern in comparison with other areas of comparable population. This is the result of the consolidation of New Orleans and Orleans Parish in 1870, the provision of most municipal-type services by the parish governments through special districts rather than new municipalities, and a parish unit of local school administration rather than local school districts.

"The absence of a large number of units of government . . . does not mean that the services supplied to residents of the different parishes are substantially the same in either quality or quantity." This is quickly evident from the detailed treatment of major functions which constitutes the greater portion of this study. Although the recent abolition of special

districts in Jefferson Parish has not yet meant the equalization of services, it has concentrated the responsibility for performance of functions in parish government and eliminated a number of independent boards.

The study indicates six principal types of problems which are of particular importance and deserve further attention: state-city relations, independent agencies and commissions and their relationships with the city government, other intergovernmental relationships in the area, parish administrative organization, structure of community leadership in the area, and financial problems, including debt administration and fiscal accountability.

Milwaukee Commission Submits Third Report

The Milwaukee Metropolitan Study Commission submitted its third annual report to Governor Gaylord A. Nelson in October. Unless extended by legislative action, the commission's existence will terminate July 1, 1961. It reported the completion of two major studies during the year—refuse and garbage disposal and land use planning. New studies of intergovernmental cooperation and police protection have been undertaken. Studies of revenue sources and distribution are nearing completion.

A number of projects in the area of public information and education have been initiated including the distribution of a monthly newsletter, *You and Your Metropolis*, establishment of a speakers bureau and a series of seminars on solutions of metropolitan problems.

Significantly, steps have been taken to implement recommendations of the commission's Land Use and Zoning Committee calling for creation of a regional planning commission and a county planning department.

The first of the series of seminars was conducted on October 12 by Norman N. Gill, executive director of the Citizens'

Governmental Research Bureau and covered intergovernmental cooperation.

J. Martin Klotzsche, provost of the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, is chairman of the commission; Harold E. Beck, business representative, Office Employees Union No. 9, AFL-CIO, and Clifford A. Randall, attorney, vice chairman; David Mars is research director.

Washington Conference Enlarged

The Washington Metropolitan Regional Conference has been enlarged to include Prince William County, Virginia. The area covered by the conference previously included the District of Columbia, Montgomery and Prince George's Counties in Maryland, Arlington and Fairfax Counties in Virginia, and the Virginia cities of Alexandria and Falls Church.

Texas City-County Group Holds Hearings

Public hearings are being held by the Texas Commission on City and County Government, which was created by the state legislature and directed "to study the feasibility and advisability of consolidating services of city and county governments."

Hearings involving public officials are being supplemented by a questionnaire mailed to county, city and school officials and a cross-section of interested citizens. The questionnaire is particularly concerned with prevailing joint undertakings and cooperative arrangements.

The commission was also instructed "to identify and consider factors bearing upon such consolidations, especially in metropolitan areas; and to study and devise ways and means, both constitutionally and statutorily, of effecting consolidation of services of cities and counties in Texas."

Proportional Representation*George H. Hallett, Jr., and
Wm. Redin Woodward, Editors*

Two Cities Vote Out P. R.

Worcester, Hamilton To Use Plurality Vote

ON Tuesday, November 8, the voters of Worcester, Massachusetts, decided to eliminate the Hare system of proportional representation from their Plan E council-manager form of government. The final vote on the referendum was 46,873 in favor of doing away with P.R.; 30,386 in favor of retaining it.

Voters of Worcester have thus decided on using the "9X plurality system" for electing the nine city councillors and the six members of the school committee.¹ The decision was made after six proportional representation elections in Worcester. It comes on the heels of a referendum on the ballot last November advocating abandonment of Worcester's Plan E charter in favor of a weak mayor and ward council charter. This referendum was not successful but many of the supporters of council-manager government felt that the closeness of the vote could be attributed mainly to dissatisfaction with the P.R. system of voting.

The campaign was a comparatively quiet one, witnessing very little of the charges and countercharges present in last year's referendum fight. There appeared to be a complete lack of organized opposition to P.R. The only sign of this opposition was a small ad in the daily newspaper the day prior to election.

The Citizens' Plan E Association led

the unsuccessful fight to retain P.R. voting. Throughout the summer and fall it kept an active speakers bureau working, addressing as many groups as it could reach. Just prior to the election, large newspaper ads were run by the CEA carrying the names of over 200 prominent and influential people urging the citizenry to vote no and retain P.R.

One of the most surprising features of the election was the percentage of people who voted on the question. Past experience, nationally as well as locally, indicated that only 50 to 60 per cent of those voting would vote on this question, the last on a lengthy ballot. Final figures show that about 80 per cent of those casting ballots voted on the referendum.

The Citizens' Plan E Association will continue to champion council-manager government for Worcester and will work constructively in whatever capacities it can for the good of the city.

JAMES H. FINNERAN
Executive Director

Citizens' Plan E Association
of Worcester

Vacancy Filling Spurred Hamilton Attack

Angered labor unionists, sparked by hostile politicians and a member of city council, November 8th succeeded in leading voters of Hamilton, Ohio, to abandon the Hare system of proportional representation for election of their municipal legislature. The system had been in use since 1927.

As in neighboring Cincinnati in 1957, it was the fifth effort to kill P.R. in Hamilton that finally did the trick.

The vote to substitute "the politicians' delight"—a 7-X system without central

(Continued on page 642)

¹ The election will be at large, each voter casting his ballot for nine candidates for council and six for school committee.

Taxation and Finance

William J. D. Boyd, Editor

Gaining Industry Major Local Goal

Picking New Plant Sites Involves Study of Taxes

THE attraction of new industry is one of the major endeavors of the contemporary American municipality. Numerous communities have formed industrial development corporations which, while assisting existing industry in their expansion programs, concentrate most effort on preparation of local industrial sites for sale or lease to corporations for new factories. The business equivalent is the factory locating service that specializes in finding plant locations for their corporation customers.

The very survival of some communities is dependent upon the attraction of new industry. Conversely, some towns, inadequately prepared to provide the needed services more industry entails, are running serious risks of worsening rather than bettering their financial status through new plant acquisition.

Myriad factors are involved in plant selection: personnel needs, size and character of the community, labor costs, availability of fuel sources, transportation facilities (air, rail, truck and waterway), water supply, local governmental efficiency, adequacy and quantity of local school systems, recreational facilities and many other considerations. Not least among these is the local and state tax picture.

The importance of taxation in the problem of plant location has been noted in several recent articles and booklets: "Industry's Plant: Big Changes Ahead" (*Dun's Review*, The Fantus Company, Empire State Building, New York, March 1960); *Taxes and what you get for them* (New York Central System,

Industrial Development Department, 466 Lexington Avenue, New York, 1960, 9 pages); *10 Most Common and Costly Mistakes in Plant Location* (Fantus Factory Location Service, New York, six pages.)

So-called nuisance taxes frequently add up to more than a state corporate income tax would cost; a fact some corporations have unhappily discovered after carefully selecting a new location in a non-corporate income taxing state. Other companies have discovered that differences in state compensation insurance rates can amount to better than two dollars per hundred dollars of payroll.

New York Central's Industrial Development Department cautions:

Neither does a low mill rate mean much unless you know the basis of assessment. Even so specific a statement as "average assessment 35 per cent of actual value" can be meaningless when you discover that residential property is assessed at 25 per cent of actual value and industrial property at close to 100 per cent.

Important to both corporation and community is what benefits accrue to the tax district and taxpayer through plant location. Low assessments and minimal nuisance taxes may mean inferior schools, poor roads, high fire insurance rates and a generally inefficiently administered community which destroys any superficial monetary advantages for the new company in town. By the same token, a community desiring new industry can so "underprice" itself in taxation that the influx of new residents and additional service needs of the factory can materially worsen the local financial structure.

One of the oldest devices to induce plant location in an area is the granting of a temporary tax exemption. The fact that nine of the sixteen states which

formerly offered such inducement have dropped the practice is but one of many indications that it has not proven the panacea it might appear.

Factory-community relations will span a period of many years. Hasty decisions based upon temporary or superficial advantages can jeopardize the future growth and development of both the community and its new industry.

Oregon Bureau Reports On City, County Revenue

The Bureau of Municipal Research and Service of the University of Oregon has completed studies of city and county revenue sources during the past 25 years.¹

Its findings include the fact that Oregon cities received a larger proportion of their revenue (53.4 per cent) from property taxes during the fiscal year 1958-59 than they had for many years. Property tax receipts constituted 81 per cent of the general revenues of cities in 1934 but, as various local sources were developed during the depression years and state allocations were made, the proportion had declined to 48.9 per cent in 1953-54.

The 25-year comparison indicates there was a sharp increase in city receipts from state allocations following World War II, and that cities have obtained increasing revenues from various new taxes, fees and service charges. In 1958-59 cities received 10.6 per cent of their revenues from permit fees and sewer service charges and 13.6 per cent from state allocations.

The report indicates that per capita city costs tend to increase with the size of the city. General revenues of cities with less than 500 population averaged \$23.29 per capita in 1958-59, as compared to \$35.69 for cities of 1,000 to 2,500,

\$49.81 for cities of 25,000 to 50,000, and \$69.19 for the city of Portland.

Oregon counties received 42 per cent of their revenue from property taxes in 1958-59, 25.1 per cent from federal allocations, 18.1 per cent from state allocations, and 14.6 per cent from local sources other than the property tax, according to a bureau report prepared for two legislative interim committees. Total revenues of individual counties ranged from \$149,932 in Wheeler County to \$22,116,030 in Multnomah County. Total revenues of half the 36 counties was less than \$1,000,000 in 1958-59.

The proportion of revenues derived from major sources varied considerably. Property taxes provided more than 60 per cent of revenues in seven counties. At the other extreme, two counties received less than 10 per cent from property taxes. A comparison with previous studies indicates that allocations from federal and state governments have increased both in amount and in the proportion of county revenues. All except Multnomah County received more than 20 per cent of their revenues from federal and state payments in 1958-59. Fifteen counties received more than 50 per cent from these sources.

Receipts from the state government constituted more than 20 per cent of revenues in nineteen counties and receipts from the federal government over a third in eleven counties and more than a half in five counties. On the other hand, revenues from the federal government constituted less than 5 per cent of the revenues of eight counties.

The study found that although the dollar amount of county revenues had increased 464 per cent since 1934 the actual purchasing power of these revenues measured in constant dollars had increased only 160 per cent or at a lower rate than the population of the state.

HERMAN KEHLI

University of Oregon

¹ *Revenue Sources of Oregon Cities for the Fiscal Year 1958-59, Revenue Sources of Oregon Counties 1958-59*, Eugene, Oregon, June 1960.

Mississippi Counties Do Have 'Full Faith, Credit'

An article appearing in this section of the REVIEW in October 1960 (page 535) erroneously stated that recent action by the Mississippi legislature had deleted from the laws the provision placing the full faith and credit of the state behind county road and bridge bonds.

According to the Mississippi State Chamber of Commerce and the Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Mississippi, the act in question (House Bill No. 709) authorized counties to issue bonds for road construction to be backed by 65 per cent of the revenues going into the state aid road fund. The bill proposed to augment borrowing authority and to utilize state aid road money for the support of this type of bond issue. It in no way affected the borrowing authority which the counties already possessed in respect to non-state aid road systems.

Only bonds issued under the provisions of H.B. 709 would lack the full faith and credit guarantee. The state aid road systems comprise only about 22 to 23 per cent of all county roads in the state.

Describes Development Of Penna.'s Act 481

Pennsylvania's Act 481 is the subject of a research report issued by the Pennsylvania Department of Internal Affairs titled *The Legislative and Judicial Development of Act 481: 1947-1959*. The 84-page study, released this year, was written by Richard F. Schier, research associate of the department's Bureau of Municipal Affairs.

The act has various names. Officially it is the Act of June 25, 1947, P.L. 1145 (53 P.S. sec. 6851 et seq.) but informally is called the Stonier-Brunner Act, Act 481, the Home Rule Tax Act, the Local Tax Enabling Act or the Tax Anything Law. The legislation was originally intended as a temporary solution to local

financial problems but has since become an important and permanent feature of the taxing powers of local governments.

The purpose of the act is described as seeking to grant to certain specified classifications of cities, towns and boroughs "authority to tax persons, transactions, occupations, privileges and subjects within the limits of the political subdivision levying the tax. This broad grant of power is, however, subject to various limitations in its exercise in that certain exceptions are provided and limits are also placed on the rates of certain taxes levied under the act and on the amount of revenue that may be raised by employing these powers."

The constitutionality of the act has been upheld by the State Supreme Court. There have been, and still are, many cases questioning certain powers exercised by local jurisdictions. Much of the report is devoted to a study of these cases.

Mr. Schier's study details the provisions of the law, legislative restrictions on its employment, the types of taxes enacted under the powers of the act, and provides information for Pennsylvania local officials interested in utilizing this law's powers for their community's benefit.

Canadian Tax Foundation Meets

Toronto was the mid-November site of the 1960 Annual Tax Conference of the Canadian Tax Foundation. The foundation is the tax research arm of the Canadian Bar Association and the Canadian Institute of Chartered Accountants. Approximately 3,000 individuals and 815 companies are members.

While the general sessions were open to the press, panel sessions were closed as is the foundation's practice. The closed meetings allow business and government officials to express themselves fully without their statements being misinterpreted as official company or government policy.

Thorough examination was made of Canadian taxes and expenditures at all levels of government including the patterns of investment, savings and taxes, the impact of government spending, and Canadian defense spending policy.

The foundation prepares research studies which, with related remarks, are regularly distributed to members, universities and public libraries. Research is conducted and comments written by the foundation staff, plus outside experts and individual members.

Tax-exempt Municipals Yield Better Than U. S. Bonds

Tax-exempt municipal bonds are giving more favorable yields than after-tax yields on U. S. government bonds, according to a comparative study made by the New York Hanseatic Corporation and reported in the *Weekly Bond Buyer* for October 10.

The study was based on the period since 1958 and the spread between the *Bond Buyer's* average and the yield-after-corporation-tax treasury securities selling around par.

The current spread is 1.62 per cent in favor of municipals as compared to the 1.50 annual average of 1958. The present relationship is the widest differential between the two markets during this year.

Economist Recommends Federal Tax Reforms

A comprehensive reorganization of the federal tax system which would broaden the tax base and slash top bracket rates has been proposed by Professor Harvey E. Brazer of the University of Michigan, former research director of the Michigan legislature's Tax Study Committee. The recommendations are contained in Dr. Brazer's *A Program for Federal Tax Revision* (Institute of Public Administration, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 50 pages, \$1.50).

Some of the more general reforms advocated are the reduction of the maximum tax rate on income from 91 to 60 per cent, the levying of taxes equally on all types of personal income, and authorizing the averaging of income over a period of at least five years so as to grant fairer treatment to those whose income fluctuates greatly.

Professor Brazer suggests the removal of several items from the exempt category of the federal income tax including: insurance proceeds to the extent they exceed premium payments, most types of gifts and inheritances, interest on state and local government bonds and capital gains and losses.

He advocates the elimination of several tax deductions and double exemptions. In addition to several other items, he proposes the elimination of gift and estate taxes and excise taxes on alcohol, tobacco and other products, retaining only taxes on gasoline used to finance highway construction. (The estate and gift taxes would be partially retained in that he believes these items should be included under the federal income tax).

His proposals for income tax revision would result in a net revenue gain of \$3 billion, while the repeal of the estate, gift and excise taxes would result in a \$5.5 billion loss—or \$10.5 billion if the alcohol and tobacco taxes were eliminated. If his entire program were to be enacted the total revenue loss would be \$8 billion. He suggests this could be recovered through a 4 per cent increase in the present income tax rates or by a 3½ to 4 per cent sales or spending tax.

Dr. Brazer's objective in making these suggestions is his belief that the tax system should be more rational and fair. Pressures for special concessions and exemptions have created great inequities. "As a result, the tax burden borne by those who have yet to find their escape hatches is extremely heavy, at the same time others have achieved enviable immunity from taxation."

LWV Tackles Metro Problems

Area Branches Band Together for Action

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The article below is reprinted from the September-October 1960 issue of *Metropolitan Area Problems—News and Digest*, published by the Conference on Metropolitan Area Problems, 684 Park Avenue, New York 21. It was adapted from a statement prepared by Mrs. William H. Wood, League of Women Voters of the United States.

GOVERNMENTAL and technical experts are generally convinced that no improvements in the problems of individual cities or of metropolitan areas can be achieved without the backing of interested and informed citizens' organizations. One such organization, operating at both the national level and in 1,097 local areas, is the League of Women Voters. The leagues both study and work for solutions of governmental problems and frequently assume watchdog responsibility over certain programs.

At the present time, 116 leagues in various sections of the country are engaged in studies of metropolitan and growth problems. Other current local league studies include 532 of problems of education and schools; 424 of planning and zoning; 248 of council-manager government and charter revision; 187 of financing, taxes and budgets; 158 of health, hospitals and related problems; 151 of juvenile problems; 112 of sewers, stream pollution and drainage; 98 of libraries; 86 of urban renewal; and 72 of housing.

How many of these functional studies have a metropolitan orientation would be difficult to determine without a thorough-going analysis. However, often

when leagues have studied such services as water supply, sewage disposal or mass transportation, sooner or later the question is raised as to whether or not it is feasible for one local community and its government to provide such services on a go-it-alone basis.

The usual procedure at this juncture is a joining of area leagues with the core city league to do the necessary study, reach decisions and try to see that these decisions are implemented. Certain problems arise in obtaining such cooperation among the leagues, however, for although all local leagues work on the same national issues, and all leagues within each state study the same state problems, each league chooses its own program as far as local issues are concerned. The chosen program may be a problem which concerns the single community or it may be an aspect of an area-wide problem different from that chosen for study by another league in the same area.

The seven leagues in the St. Louis area found such a situation in the years immediately following World War II. The sewer problems of that area were so compelling, however, that after some discussion the leagues in the area jointly decided to support the formation of a Metropolitan Sewer District. Leagues took an active part in the successful campaign for the district, organizing and partially staffing a telephone effort which reached some 25,000 voters.

After the sewer district election, a joint committee representing the seven area leagues became one of the first organized groups, aside from professional planning agencies, to undertake a metropolitan survey. Among the problems proposed were: what is our present governmental setup and how much cooperation is already going on; how do other metropolitan areas tackle their problems,

select metropolitan officials, handle taxes; what research has been done in the St. Louis area; and should a metropolitan government include parts of Illinois?

Leagues in other areas have also discovered that so many services seem to call for joint handling that a study of the entire metropolitan area appears to be in order. Such was the case in Oregon in 1955, when a joint committee was formed from the membership of the four leagues in the Portland area—Beaverton, Milwaukie, Oswego and Portland—to do a study which resulted in the publication of the findings in 1959 under the title of *A Tale of Three Counties—One Metropolitan Community*. The study revealed that the area, containing 363 square miles and an estimated population of 659,915, had 60 school districts, twelve city governments, three county governments and 178 special service districts. The committee investigated the provision of such vital services as water supply, sewage disposal, fire and police protection, parks and recreation, public transportation, air pollution, and planning and land use; reviewed methods used by these governmental jurisdictions in meeting their many problems and noted what other areas were doing in similar situations.

The leagues' report recommended establishment of a tri-county metropolitan multi-purpose district to supply urban services in unincorporated areas, coordinate and integrate operations of cities and counties regarding certain services, and plan and control future development.

In the San Francisco Bay area, a joint committee representing eleven leagues from nine counties is studying "Bay Area Problems and Their Possible Governmental Solutions." In and around Los Angeles, eleven out of sixteen leagues are jointly looking at the problems of the urban community. This year they are concentrating on the transit problem and on county charter revision. Leagues in

the District of Columbia metropolitan area and the Milwaukee, Wisconsin, area are also jointly studying metropolitan problems.

A 32-page study on the subject of regional planning, by 26 leagues in communities in or contiguous to the Boston area, was hailed by the *Christian Science Monitor* as "one of the most lucid and comprehensive works published on the subject."

The leagues do more than simply seek out and provide information on problems. Often they have played important roles in getting action started on needed improvements, as in the St. Louis sewage district campaign.

The Dade County, Florida, league, with the assistance of the other 29 leagues of the state, worked for approval of a home rule amendment to the Florida constitution, as the first step toward obtaining the metropolitan reorganization of the area. The league's other activities in the campaign for a metropolitan county included the distribution of 50,000 publications, speaking engagements with 30 organizations, and over 50,000 telephone calls to registered voters.

In Erie County (Buffalo), New York, which in the fall of 1959 approved a county home rule charter, the league was credited by the *NATIONAL CIVIC REVIEW* as "probably the biggest promotional force for the charter."

In two states—Oregon and Michigan—all of the leagues are working on problems concerned with metropolitan areas, even though some are located in communities not officially designated as standard metropolitan statistical areas.

South Dakota Newspapers Conduct Election Polls

The *Watertown Public Opinion*, *Aberdeen American-News* and *Siox Falls Argus-Leader*, all in South Dakota, have been conducting joint public opinion

polls since 1952. "In the primary and general elections since its inception," reports *Editor and Publisher*, "it has accurately predicted the outcome of 22 of 24 contests." Candidate preference isn't the only question the poll asks. It has measured public thinking on a variety of subjects, from hunting laws and income taxes to presidential favorites and school reorganization.

Editors of the three papers plan the questions and consider the matter to accompany them. When everything has been agreed upon the questions are handed over to a pollster—usually a college graduate student or instructor, who hires a small undergraduate staff. At that point the newspapers' participation in the poll ceases until publication of the results, which are given front page play in each of the sponsoring newspapers—all coming out with the story on the same day.

Names of persons receiving the questions are picked from telephone books of all communities in the state according to a simple proportional formula.

Bouquet for County League of Women Voters

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The following paragraphs are taken from Charles D. Wheeler's column, "Inside Georgia," appearing in the *DeKalb* (Georgia) *New Era* for August 18, 1960.

A small but very active group in DeKalb County political affairs is the League of Women Voters. With a total membership numbering only a few hundred and an annual budget this year of about \$3,600, these ladies nevertheless perform important contributions to DeKalb County, state and national government and politics.

Their zeal for good government and hard work on league programs and projects make the organization seem, to the average observer, many times its actual size.

The county group is a local branch of the League of Women Voters of Georgia and of the National League of Women Voters. . . .

Probably some of the things of greatest value produced by the League of Women Voters come from their propensity for prying minutely into the processes of government operation at all levels, and into the political processes as well. These studies have resulted in some very interesting reports from time to time, and produce information for their members and others which inevitably leads to a better understanding of the purpose, nature and means of achieving democratic government for the benefit of all the people. . . .

Far too many citizens know far too little about the theory, nature and principles underlying a democratic form of government such as ours and the reasons for its greatness and the means of its continuance and growth.

Such organizations as the League of Women Voters and the work being done by them are important contributions to what is popularly known as our way of life, and are the sort of thing which will preserve it relatively intact for the future.

Citizenship Clearing House Launches More Fellowships

"The newest of the Citizenship Clearing House fellowship programs was launched at Northwestern University," announces the October issue of that organization's *Bulletin*. On September 12-16 the Clearing House held a "pre-service seminar" for the six initial graduate fellows, students in political science, law and related social sciences. These fellows will be assigned as working members of the staffs of state and local governmental officials, of political parties or of major political interest groups. A post-service seminar will be held in January. Professor Norton E. Long, director of the

Transportation Center at Northwestern, is director of both seminars.

The purpose of the September seminar was to provide orientation for the three-and-a-half month internship assignment which each of the fellows began on September 19.

A major conclusion of the seminar was that the internship experience ought to serve two functions: "(1) To provide the student with the opportunity to gather research data, as a participant-observer, at some center of decision-making on the state or local governmental level; and (2) to increase his competence and knowledge (and thereby his teaching potential) through a period of supervised participation in an actual political or governmental situation."

Additional fellowships offered by the Clearing House include:

(1) National committee faculty fellowships: Two fellows are selected annually to serve one year as special consultants to the chairmen of the Republican and Democratic National Committees. Applicants must be full-time teachers at an accredited American college or university.

(2) Faculty fellowships in state and local government: From four to six fellows are chosen each year from faculties of colleges and universities to serve, usually for a year, as regular working members on top level staffs of governors, mayors or other elected or appointed executives, with political party leaders or with major political interest groups.

(3) Undergraduate internships: The CCH offers several hundred full-time summer internships and part-time academic year internships with a variety of public offices, political party offices, candidates and interest groups.

The fellowships are supported by grants from The Ford Foundation and the Maurice and Laura Falk Foundation. Further information may be secured from the Citizenship Clearing House, 40 Washington Square South, New York 12.

Chicago Group Issues 67th Annual Report

The *67th Annual Report* of the Civic Federation of Chicago lists activities for the year October 1959 through September 1960. The report makes ten recommendations for "basically necessary improvements in the operation of government in Chicago and Cook County":

"1. The size of the Chicago city council should be reduced and some of the members should be elected at large.

"2. Purchasing laws of the several Chicago governments should be uniform and provision made for cooperative buying. . . .

"3. Personnel administration should be improved, including better recruitment policies and lessened possibility of evasion of the requisite laws.

"4. The Chicago Park District should be merged with the city. Its existence as a unifunctional government cannot be justified.

"5. The counties article of the state constitution should be amended to eliminate court clerks as elective positions, to permit a medical examiner system, and to remove circuit court responsibilities in the fee offices.

"6. Election machinery in Cook County should be modernized to permit more economical operation and eliminate possibilities of fraud.

"7. There should be created in Cook County the office of commissioner of taxation so that the preparation of tax bills, maintenance of adequate records, extension, collection and distribution of taxes can be centralized in one office.

"8. The revenue article of the state constitution should be amended so as to eliminate the personal property tax in its present form.

"9. All proposals to increase property taxes should be submitted to referendum and a tax rate limit should be reimposed

(Continued on page 635)

Center Discusses Revision Proposals

Considers Suggestions Of Kansas Commission

THE University of Kansas Governmental Research Center has initiated a series of reports discussing proposals for state constitutional change. The first two of these are now available: *Constitutional Revision in Kansas: The Executive and the Legislative* and *Constitutional Revision in Kansas: The Issues* (Lawrence, 1960, 21 and 38 pages). Both focus on proposals of the Kansas Commission on Constitutional Revision as set forth in its Progress Report of January 30, 1959.

In discussing the executive article, arguments are made for reducing the number of popularly elected state officers to only three—the governor, lieutenant governor and attorney general, and for increasing the chief executive's appointive and dismissal powers.

The number of legislative houses, the basis of representation, frequency of legislative sessions and salaries of representatives are provisions of the legislative article under consideration. Although the commission recognizes that "the experts strongly support the unicameral system . . . it has decided that an effort to achieve the practicable, less-than-perfect, is to be preferred to a vain attempt for the ideal."

Proposals for correcting the malapportionment problem include increasing the size of the Senate or the House or consolidating less populous counties. The commission set forth a plan which would maintain the present membership of both houses. In the house each county would be given at least one representative as

at present. The twenty "floating" seats would still be apportioned to the more populous counties. Each senator would represent an equitable number of people.

The legislature now meets yearly with every other session devoted to budgetary matters. The commission suggested annual sessions with the assemblies meeting not more than 90 days in odd years or 30 days in even ones. The best plan for providing legislators' salaries was viewed as one which would leave the decision to the law-making body with a constitutional provision stating: "Members of the legislature shall receive salary and expenses as shall be prescribed by law, but the amount thereof shall be neither increased nor diminished to apply to the term for which they are elected."

The second publication includes the topics above in its discussion of constitutional issues as well as "minor matters of obsolescence" (such as a provision designating persons involved in duels as ineligible to offices of trust or profit), organization of the judiciary, terms of elected state officials, home rule and county government.

The present plan in Kansas for revising the constitution is through amendment.¹

Kentucky Revision Committee Reports

The *First Report of the Constitution Revision Committee to the [Kentucky] Legislative Research Commission* (the commission, Frankfort, 51 pages) was released in September. The committee was appointed by the 1960 legislature to appraise suggestions for revising the state's constitution. The report covers

¹ For a report on amendments submitted November 8 to Kansas voters, see page 611, this issue.

the general purpose and powers of constitutional conventions and Kentucky's limited constitutional convention proposal voted upon November 8.¹ The bulk of the study is devoted to singling out various provisions of the constitution which need revision. These are grouped under twelve subjects and discussion of each includes some historical background, a comparison of such provisions in other states and problems arising from the constitutional statements. Footnotes comprise a helpful bibliography on state constitutions.

The committee has also published for popular distribution two fact-filled pamphlets based on its report:

100 Questions About a Constitutional Convention (July 1960, 37 pages) gives answers to inquiries such as the subject matter that would be up for consideration in a limited constitutional convention, the representation in such a convention, its cost and length and the preparation involved to make such a meeting effective. *You and Your Constitution* (July 1960, 16 pages) outlines briefly the constitutional history of the state and recounts the most obvious changes in the state since the last constitutional convention, which was held in 1890.

Bureau's First Publication Discusses Finance

"Since World War II most American communities have been faced with a growing hunger for revenue with which to carry out state-assigned administrative tasks and to provide vital services demanded by their residents," begins Robert J. Huckshorn's study of *Municipal Finance in Idaho* (Bureau of Public Affairs Research, University of Idaho, Moscow, 1960, 60 pages). This is the first publication of the newly created bureau. The author treats the problem

and legal framework of municipal finance, municipal revenue, expenditures and debt management as well as trends.

In discussing trends the author singles out the increased use of non-property taxes for urban areas as the most marked development during the past decade. Others are increased shared state revenues and general strengthening of the property tax.

Businessmen Examine Voting Research Findings

Last March a group of business and industrial leaders met in Michigan with voting research experts to discuss various election study findings which have implications for the participation of businessmen in local politics. The report of this meeting, *Voting Research and the Businessman in Politics* (Foundation for Research on Human Behavior, P.O. Box 1261, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1960, 39 pages, \$3.00) examines such topics as the role of political parties, ethnic and religious groups and economic issues in local and national campaigns; the nature of political party allegiance in the United States; and motivations behind electoral participation.

The report emphasizes the importance of a bipartisan approach to business's participation in politics as "the broad, representative nature of the American parties means that many of the most important conflicts over issues and public policy occur within the parties rather than between the parties." A true individual commitment to the parties themselves is also stressed.

DEBORAH ROSENFELD

Aid to Property Tax Administrators

Patricia Stuart has written in a popular style *A Guide to Property Revaluations* (Institute of Public Service, University of Connecticut, Storrs, 1960, 16 pages, 50 cents). She discusses what a revalua-

¹ See page 611, this issue.

tion involves, how to deal with a reappraisal company and other related topics. The monograph will not only be helpful to those responsible for such activities but it is also attractive and well organized.

Kansas Center Issues Three Pamphlets

The Governmental Research Center of the University of Kansas has issued several pamphlets of substantial interest. The 1960 *Kansas Voter's Guide*, by Earl J. Reeves, Jr., (Lawrence, September 1960, 79 pages) is the latest of such publications issued in election years since 1952. It lists not only biographical information about this year's statewide and national candidates, party platforms and organizational charts but also gives the names and addresses of party workers, both professional and amateur. The latter information is invaluable for those who are interested in organized party activity in the state during the next few years and makes this a handbook of more than temporary value.

Legislative Apportionment in Kansas: 1960, by James W. Drury and James E. Titus, (June 1960, 47 pages) presents the issue of apportionment to Kansas voters who will undoubtedly lose one congressional seat as a result of the federal redistricting after the 1960 census. After thoroughly examining this problem, the authors complete the picture by outlining the current facts and figures on the apportionment situation in the state legislature.

The latest substantial apportionment for the House was in 1909; for the Senate, in 1886. Great population growth and shifts have occurred since then in Kansas as elsewhere. These have resulted in voting ratios as great as 31 to one in the Senate and 61 to one in the lower house, the latter situation calcified by the requirement of one state representative for each of the 105 counties in the 125-member House.

A third pamphlet by the Governmental Research Center was also issued in June of this year, *The Kansas Watershed District* by Charles A. Sullivant (32 pages).

A.K.S.

Data on Courts

The Council of State Governments has revised its *State Court Systems* (1313 East 60th Street, Chicago 37, 1960, unpagged, \$1.50). The publication consists entirely of tables presenting such data as the names of courts in the 50 states, methods of selecting and removing judges, their compensation, retirement and pension provisions, and information on court administrative offices.

Tennessee Local Cooperation

Two local government consultants, Edward W. Meisenhelder, III, and Robert A. Lovelace, have compiled *Laws for City-County Cooperation in Tennessee* (Bureau of Public Administration, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, 1960, 58 pages) whose contents are broader than the title indicates.

What consolidation is and what it is not is discussed, Tennessee's experience with city-county consolidation and cooperation is described, and the general constitutional authorization as well as the broad and specific statutory powers for such contracts are given.

Revises Voter's Guide

The Public Administration Clearing Service of the University of Florida has prepared a new edition of its *Florida Voter's Guide* (Gainesville, 1960, 34 pages). The pamphlet presents information on state elections, suffrage requirements, elected public officials, party officials, campaign techniques and legal controls over candidates.

New University Program

A Public Administration and Metropolitan Affairs Program has been estab-

lished at Southern Illinois University to develop an interdisciplinary curriculum in public administration and planning and a program of basic research in urban studies. The program plans to issue a series of publications. Seymour Z. Mann is director.

Bibliography on State

The Michigan State Library, 125 East Shiawassee, Lansing 13, is compiling bibliographies on various topics of interest to states under the general heading, *Recent Information on State Affairs at the Michigan State Library*. The first three issues have treated unicameralism, constitutional revision methods and techniques, and reapportionment in state legislatures, respectively. Some of the references are annotated. The bibliographies contain basic sources as well as reports published by the various states when appropriate.

CITIZEN ACTION

(Continued from page 631)

on the corporate fund of the city of Chicago.

"10. Local governments should explore every possibility for reducing their costs of operation."

Membership Drives

The Ward and Precinct Organization of the Cambridge (Massachusetts) Civic Association's 1960 membership campaign conducted an intensive two-week door-to-door drive beginning November 14, combined with a series of meetings and a special publicity program. Its aim is 1,000 new recruits. "An increase in membership is essential to prepare for the 1961 election campaign," reports the organization's *Civic Bulletin*, as well as for present efforts for expanded recreation facilities, the finance responsibilities of the association, etc.

A 1960-1961 drive for 100 new firm

members has been conducted by the Citizens League of Minneapolis and Hennepin County, followed by a drive for new individual members which began November 15.

Business and Politics

Among the many companies instituting practical politics workshops for their employees is the General Telephone and Electronics Corporation. Such workshops have been established in all 28 telephone operating companies and twelve manufacturing, research and sales companies of the organization, according to *Echo*, publication of the Effective Citizens Organization. The company has been encouraging its 80,000 employees to vote, keep informed on key political issues and otherwise participate in political affairs as individual citizens.

LWV Publications

Staging a Constitutional Convention in Iowa (League of Women Voters of Iowa, 216 Main Street, Ames, October 1960, 23 pages, twenty cents) gives information on the convention as a tool for constitutional revision, planning required for an effective meeting, procedure to be followed according to Iowa law and new developments in state constitution reform. This is background for the vote taken November 8 on the holding of a constitutional convention in that state.¹

The League of Women Voters of Medford, Oregon, asks *How Much Do You Know About Jackson County?* (March 1960, 44 pages, 35 cents). Using tables, cartoons and charts, this pamphlet is the product of three years of league study of the county, its relationship to state government, political party organization, county administration and finance, the county court system and services performed on the county level.

A.K.S.

¹ See page 611, this issue.

Books in Review

Nonpartisan Elections

THE POLITICS OF NONPARTISANSHIP. A Study of California City Elections. By Eugene C. Lee. University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1960. xiii, 232 pp. \$4.75.

In 1899 the National Municipal League developed its first model city charter specifying nonpartisan elections. Unseating the political parties from their strongholds in cities seemed a fantastic and forlorn hope then but when the figures first appeared in the *Municipal Year Book* in 1938 nonpartisan cities outnumbered the partisan 863 to 823. This was largely because both the commission plan and the council-manager plan included nonpartisan elections in their respective packages.

In the years since 1938 manager charters, 84 per cent nonpartisan, have multiplied and carried nonpartisan elections to 61 per cent of all American cities over 5,000 population, to which should be added numerous southern one-party cities listed as partisan, where the real election, in the Democratic primary, is between unlabelled candidates, too. Except in the largest cities, nonpartisan elections promptly released voters from being herded by party managers with demands for blind party loyalty. Massive blocs of hitherto habit-bound voters dispersed to vote for the candidates they liked without caring, and often without knowing, what national party those candidates espoused.

I for one suspected that this impression might be naive and that there might be strong partisan undercurrents even where the city committees of the national parties were ostensibly silent. So in 1949 I collected from chambers of commerce, city managers and editors, in 48 cities that had had nonpartisan elections for ten years or more, confidential answers as to the reality of the abstention of the national parties in the battles for local office. In 500 elections the parties had

visibly thrown their weight only three times.¹

In a second excursion, covering 53 nonpartisan elections in Fort Worth, Dallas, Long Beach (California) and Sacramento, where the ballots seemed to me dangerously long—"vote for nine"—I found that if the national party organizations tried to influence the elections the newspaper reports on the morning after the elections had never reflected it.

Until now those had been, so far as I know, the only attempts to sample the experience and test the validity of the League's 1899 conjectures of the feasibility of nonpartisan municipal elections.

Now comes *The Politics of Nonpartisanship*, a more ponderous inquiry but, unfortunately, limited to California. One of my answers from that state said explosively: "Who ever heard of the Democratic or Republican party meddling in municipal elections anywhere!"

Nonpartisan local elections have indeed been universal in that state for decades and, in the half-century since Hiram Johnson and in recent decades when the state has been flooded with immigrants without old local political tradition, plus the influence of years of cross-filing for state offices, party allegiances have become relatively friable as compared, let us say, with the condition in Pennsylvania.

So in that special coast atmosphere, Mr. Lee collected three hundred answers to his questionnaires from three-quarters of the California cities and made perceptive personal inquiries in depth in six cities.

The pictures he competently evokes of the political process in California cities would delight the League's dreamers of 1899. For here are communities that are free of bosses and machines utilizing proprietorship of party names to demand

¹ See "500 'Non-Political' Elections," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, June 1949, page 278.

a meaningless "loyal" solidarity for their slates.

Mr. Lee uncovers the fact that blue-collar Democrats do not class-consciously vote on class lines but freely support white-collar Republicans. He thus reveals that business and professional men qualified for the task of managing the expenditure of municipal millions are the prevailing type in city halls; this results in Republicans ruling Democratic constituencies. As long as it is with the open-eyed consent of the latter, with no concealment of either white collars or Republicanism, no harm in that—especially as these Republicans are not, covertly or otherwise, utilizing the powers of office to advance Republicanism! The condition suggests that there are not in most of those cities issues calling for division of the constituencies by socioeconomic classes.

Mr. Lee verifies to a degree the difference which mere size of the constituency makes, evidenced by the more frequent catering to cohesive groups to gather votes in the larger cities, but has no occasion to get to the almost prohibitive difficulties of nonpartisan elections on a metropolitan or statewide scale. Varied informal processes take the place of the mock battles between party managements and those processes as pictured in this study seem wholesome and very American!

Altogether the findings confirm my sketchier conclusions of 1949 that the escape from the old-time power of party managements is real, practical and complete and justifies the extension of nonpartisan municipal elections to the remaining third of American cities.

R.S.C.

Party Politics

TWO PARTIES FOR SHREVEPORT, by Kenneth N. Vines. A UNIVERSITY IN THE WEB OF POLITICS, by Samuel Halperin. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 383 Madi-

son Avenue, New York City, 1959 and 1960. 16 pp. each. 50 cents each.

These reports comprise two more Eagleton Foundation case studies in practical politics.¹ Vines relates the organizational struggle of a handful of Republicans in a southern Democratic stronghold—Shreveport, Louisiana—after Eisenhower was seated in Washington. The movement was slowly gaining ground until the Little Rock incident. In the author's opinion this case reveals "both the limitations of the 'new southern Republicanism' and the problems to be faced when, in propitious times, other communities try out a two-party system."

Halperin treats an outwardly more academic subject—a university—but politics are still involved. The scene is Michigan and the controversy centers around the question of whether Wayne State University should be given constitutional status and be independently governed as are two other Michigan universities—University of Michigan and Michigan State University—or whether the school should be administered by the University of Michigan governing board. The former alternative was finally selected but the choice wasn't as simple as it might appear!

P.S.W.

Democracy

THE POWER OF THE DEMOCRATIC IDEA. VI Report of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund Special Studies Project. Doubleday and Company, Garden City, New York, 1960. 83 pp.

A subjective and eloquent defense of "the idea of democracy as it has found expression in the American scene." The principal author was Charles Frankel of Columbia University but numerous associates contributed to its depth and wisdom.

R.S.C.

¹ For reviews of previous studies see the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, September 1958, page 427, and the NATIONAL CIVIC REVIEW, June 1959, page 327, and January 1960, page 54.

Ethics in Politics

ETHICS AND THE POLITICIAN. By Stephen K. Bailey. Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Box 4068, Santa Barbara, California, August 1960. 10 pp.

Professor Bailey is one of those rare people who practices what he preaches. Not only is he a political scientist, he has also been a mayor (of Middletown, Connecticut), a party chairman, a legislative assistant to a U. S. senator and a member of the Hoover Commission task force studying the presidency.

In this pamphlet he recalls his experiences as the highest elected official in a city of 30,000, pointing out some of the realities of political life. For instance, "Venality, like virtue, is rarely unambiguous. . . . In most cases the ethical values are sufficiently balanced so that no matter which side the mayor takes, half the concerned citizens in the community will charge him—and with considerable justification in their own minds—with having sold out. This is one of the reasons for the low image of politicians in our society: the fact that the losing cause in public policy generally has substantial merit on its side, with the consequence that the loser can see nothing but venality or partiality in the elected official's decision."

This short but thoughtful and thought-provoking essay should be required reading for everyone.

A.K.S.

Council-Manager Plan

A DECADE OF COUNCIL-MANAGER GOVERNMENT IN PHOENIX, ARIZONA. By Paul Kelso. City Council, Phoenix, October 1960. 71 pp.

Recipient of two All-America City Awards, in 1950 and 1958, and over 70 awards for specific programs, Phoenix has had a tremendous upsurge in efficient and effective council-manager government in the last ten years. The territory

of Phoenix has been expanded through annexation 995.9 per cent—from 17.1 to 187.4 square miles; its metropolitan area population has grown from 311,770 to 657,688, and 291 new industries have been located in the area during the twelve years since 1948.

All this activity was spurred by a major charter revision effort initiated in 1947. A manager charter in effect since 1914 was extensively revised and brought into line with the precepts of the *Model City Charter*. One of the changes necessitated a constitutional amendment removing the requirement that all elected and appointed officials be residents of the area they serve. State-wide approval was gained and the Phoenix city council, elected in 1949 on a reform ticket, took advantage of its new freedom and appointed Ray W. Wilson from Kansas City as the new city manager.

This pamphlet, published on the eve of the National Conference on Government held in Phoenix, recounts in detail the many outstanding achievements of the city government under the leadership of Mr. Wilson and its proposals to meet the future demands of a city which is expected to reach a million population by 1980.

A.K.S.

Additional Books And Pamphlets

(See also *Researcher's Digest* and other departments)

Air Pollution

AIR POLLUTION AND SMOG. By Don Kirby. Air Pollution Foundation, 2556 Mission Street, San Marino, California, May 1960. 19 pp.

Assessments

THE ASSESSMENT AND APPRAISAL OF SOUTH DAKOTA REAL ESTATE. A Syllabus Including a Five-Year Study Guide and Related Materials. Edited by Wil-

liam H. Cape. Governmental Research Bureau, State University of South Dakota, Vermillion, August 1960. 114 pp. Tables.

Auditing

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SECOND COUNTY AUDITORS' INSTITUTE, May 26-27, 1960. College of Business Administration, Institute of Public Affairs and Division of Extension, University of Texas, in cooperation with County Auditors' Association of Texas, Austin, 1960. 61 pp.

Budgets

MASSACHUSETTS STATE BUDGET IN BRIEF—1961. Massachusetts Budget Bureau, State House, Boston, 1960. 32 pp. Charts, tables.

1961 FEDERAL BUDGET MIDYEAR REVIEW. Bureau of the Budget, Executive Office of the President, Washington, D. C., October 1960. 48 pp. Tables. 25 cents. (Apply Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.)

PROGRESS IN THE BUDGETING PROCESS DURING THE PAST DECADE. By Vernon E. Koch. Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1313 East 60th Street, Chicago 37, August 1, 1960. 12 pp. \$1.00.

A REPORT TO THE PEOPLE ON CHICAGO'S 1960 BUDGET. Budgetary Division, Office of the Mayor, Chicago, 1960. 31 pp. Illus.

County Cooperation

THIRD ANNUAL MEETING REPORT, SUPERVISORS INTER-COUNTY COMMITTEE, May 1960. The Committee, 715 Woodward Avenue, Detroit 26, 1960. 18 pp.

County Government

NORTH CAROLINA COUNTY GOVERNMENT—Its History, Organization, Activities. (Reprinted from 1959 *County Yearbook*.) By John Alexander McMahon. North Carolina Association of County Commissioners, 205 Lennox

Building, Chapel Hill, 1960. 31 pp. Illus. 50 cents.

Economics

THE MICHIGAN ECONOMY: ITS POTENTIALS AND ITS PROBLEMS. By William Haber, Eugene C. McKean and Harold C. Taylor. The W. E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research, 709 South Westnedge Avenue, Kalamazoo, Michigan, 1959. xv, 395 pp. \$3.25.

THE NEXT TWENTY YEARS. AN Economic Base Study of the Planning Region. Prepared for Chattanooga-Hamilton County [Tennessee] Regional Planning Commission. Hammer and Company Associates, 70 Fairlie Street, N. W., Atlanta 3, Georgia, February 1960. 83 pp. Maps, tables.

PEOPLE, LAND AND LIVELIHOOD IN NORTHERN VIRGINIA. Northern Virginia Regional Planning and Economic Development Commission, 3150 Wilson Boulevard, Arlington 1, Virginia, December 1959. 52 pp. Maps, tables.

Education

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL EDUCATION BOARD: Ten Years of Regional Cooperation in Higher Education. By Redding S. Sugg, Jr., and George Hilton Jones. Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, 1960. xv, 179 pp. Illus. \$4.00.

Fire Administration

LOCAL FIRE ADMINISTRATION IN PENNSYLVANIA (revised edition). By Elizabeth Smedley. Pennsylvania Department of Internal Affairs, Harrisburg, 1960. viii, 271 pp.

Flood Control

FLOOD PROOFING: AN ELEMENT IN A FLOOD DAMAGE REDUCTION PROGRAM. By John Richard Sheaffer. Department of Geography, University of Chicago, Chicago, 1960. xiv, 198 pp. Illus. \$4.00.

Governors

PROCEEDINGS OF THE TWELFTH GOVERNOR'S CONFERENCE, June 23-24, 1960.

Bureau of Government Research, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, September 1960. 53 pp.

Housing

HOUSING CODES—THE KEY TO HOUSING CONSERVATION. Volume 1, Background of Code Enforcement; Volume 2, Model Housing Code Applicable to One- and Two-Family Dwellings, Multiple Dwellings, Mobile Homes and Mobile Home Courts; Volume 3, Administrative Guide. Bureau of Urban Renewal and Community Services, New York State Division of Housing, 270 Broadway, New York 7, 1960. 86, 66 and 47 pp. respectively.

Industry

INDUSTRY AS A LOCAL TAX BASE. Bureau of Business and Economic Research, University of Maryland, College Park, June 1960. 24 pp. Tables.

Judiciary

A MANUAL FOR ALABAMA PROBATE JUDGES. By Coleman B. Ransone, Jr., and James O. King. Bureau of Public Administration, University of Alabama, University, 1960. ix, 104 pp.

Legislation

SUMMARY OF GEORGIA LAWS AFFECTING LOCAL GOVERNMENT, JANUARY-FEBRUARY, 1960. Institute of Law and Government, School of Law, University of Georgia, Athens, June 1960. 38 pp.

Legislative Bodies

FINANCIAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE REVIEW: 1959 MINNESOTA STATE LEGISLATURE. Minnesota Taxpayers Association, 812 Minnesota Building, St. Paul 1, April 1960. 35 pp. Charts.

Metropolitan Areas

METROPOLITAN COMMUNITIES: A BIBLIOGRAPHY WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS UPON GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS. Supplement: 1955-1957. Compiled by Victor

Jones, Barbara Hudson and Larry D. Johnston. Public Administration Service, 1313 East 60th Street, Chicago 37, April 1960. xiv, 229 pp. \$8.00.

1960 REPORT OF THE JOINT LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE ON METROPOLITAN AREAS STUDY TO THE LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK (revised edition). The committee, Onondaga County Savings Bank Building, Syracuse 2, March 21, 1960. 107 pp.

Natural Resources

THE NATURAL RESOURCES OF SOUTHEASTERN MASSACHUSETTS. By David A. Grossman and Melvin R. Levin. Southeastern Massachusetts Regional Planning District and the Massachusetts Department of Commerce, September 1959. 72 pp. Maps, tables. (Apply Advance Planning Associates, 127 Mount Auburn Street, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts.)

Nominations

NOMINATION PROCEDURE IN SMALL OREGON CITIES. Bureau of Municipal Research and Service, University of Oregon, Eugene, August 1960. 38 pp. \$1.00.

Personnel

PERSONNEL ADMINISTRATION IN CONNECTICUT TOWNS AND CITIES. By Rosaline Levenson. Institute of Public Service, University of Connecticut, Storrs, September 1960. 18 pp. Tables. 25 cents.

Planning

COUNT DOWN FOR TOMORROW. A Comprehensive Plan for the Blair Region. Blair [County] Regional Planning Commission, Altoona, Pennsylvania, 1960. 101 pp. Charts, maps, tables.

Population

FUTURE POPULATION, 1970-1980-1990-2000, Denver Metropolitan Area. Inter-County Regional Planning Commission, 2152 South Bellaire, Denver 22, March 1960. 31 pp. Charts.

Public Administration

ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION. By John M. Pfiffner and Frank P. Sherwood. Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1960. xiii, 481 pp. \$9.00.

Public Employee Unions

BACKGROUND FOR DECISION. A Union Shop for Philadelphia's City Employees? (Reprinted from *Citizens' Business*, May and June 1960.) Pennsylvania Economy League (Eastern Division) in association with the Bureau of Municipal Research, Liberty Trust Building, Philadelphia 7, July 1960. 10 pp. \$1.00.

COLLECTIVE DEALING BY UNITS OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN CONNECTICUT. By Robert L. Stutz. Labor-Management Institute, University of Connecticut, Storrs, Connecticut, May 1960. 55 pp. \$1.00.

Public Health

REPORT OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION FOR HEALTH. Committee on Medical Care, Maryland State Planning Commission, State Office Building, 301 West Preston Street, Baltimore 1, June 1960. 30 pp.

Public Welfare

GENERAL WELFARE WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO PUBLIC ASSISTANCE. *Research Bibliography*, Tax Foundation, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, September 1960. 10 pp.

Standardisation

STANDARDIZATION ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES. A Descriptive Directory. By Sherman F. Booth. Office of Technical Information, National Bureau of Standards, United States Department of Commerce, Washington 25, D. C., August 1960. iv, 210 pp. \$1.75. (Apply Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.)

Suburbs

THE NATURAL HISTORY OF A RELUCTANT SUBURB. By William M. Dobrin.

The Yale Review, 28 Hillhouse Avenue, New Haven, Connecticut, March 1960. 14 pp. \$1.00.

Taxation and Finance

IMPROVED ANNUAL FINANCIAL REPORTING. By Joseph F. Clark. Association of Washington Cities, in cooperation with the Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, University of Washington, Seattle 5, October 1960. 15 pp.

OUR STATE TAX POLICY: ITS HISTORY; ITS FUTURE. STATE TAX POLICY AND THE INDIVIDUAL. Texas Commission on State and Local Tax Policy, Drawer C, Capitol Station, Austin, August 1960. 35 and 79 pp. respectively.

SALES TAX COLLECTIONS, STATE OF TENNESSEE, FOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1960. An Analysis and Comparison Showing the Amounts of Sales Tax Collected by Each of 99 Classifications of Business in Twenty Large Counties and Fourteen Large Cities. Tennessee Taxpayers Association, 504-508 Commerce Union Annex, Nashville 3, October 1960. 32 pp. Charts, tables.

SURVEY OF: FINANCES OF HARRIS COUNTY, HARRIS COUNTY FLOOD CONTROL DISTRICT AND HARRIS COUNTY-HOUSTON SHIP CHANNEL NAVIGATION DISTRICT 1955 THROUGH 1959. Tax Research Association, 818 Continental Building, Houston 2, Texas, October 1960. 19 pp.

THE WEST VIRGINIA GROSS SALES TAX. By Vance Quentin Alvis. Bureau of Business Research, College of Commerce, West Virginia University, Morgantown, June 1960. 99 pp. Tables.

Town Meeting

THE CONNECTICUT TOWN MEETING. A Guide to the Conduct of Town and District Meetings (third edition). By Patricia Stuart. Institute of Public Service, University of Connecticut, Storrs, 1960. 37 pp. 50 cents.

Traffic

TRAFFIC CIRCULATION STUDY AND PLAN, KEENE, NEW HAMPSHIRE. By Elliot G. Hansen. New Hampshire State Planning and Development Commission, Concord, March 1960. 51 pp. Maps.

TRAFFIC ORDINANCE FOR WASHINGTON CITIES. Association of Washington Cities in cooperation with the Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, University of Washington, Seattle 5, September 1960. 133 pp.

WASHINGTON TRAFFIC STATUTES. Association of Washington Cities in cooperation with Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, University of Washington, Seattle 5, September 1960. 72 pp.

Urban Renewal and Development

DEVELOPMENT PLAN, EUGENE-SPRINGFIELD METROPOLITAN REGION. Bureau of Municipal Research and Service, University of Oregon, and the Central Lane County Planning Commission, Eugene, Oregon, 1959. 206 pp. Maps, tables. \$6.00.

FUTURE DEVELOPMENT PATTERNS—ELMIRA, NEW YORK. General Plan, General Plan Studies, Downtown Development Study. Community Planning Associates, 1241 Parkway, West Trenton, New Jersey, July 1960. 73 pp. Illus.

STANDARDS FOR NEW URBAN DEVELOPMENT. A Handbook. Inter-County Regional Planning Commission, 2152 South Bellaire, Denver 22, July 1960. 33 pp. Tables.

Zoning

REPORT OF THE CITY PLANNING COMMISSION ON THE COMPREHENSIVE AMENDMENT OF THE ZONING RESOLUTION OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK. The Commission, New York, October 18, 1960, 21 pp.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

(Continued from page 623)

count—was for repeal 15,790; against repeal 12,872.

Origin of this last attack was the failure of the city council early in the year to replace a labor councilman, who had resigned at the beginning of his term, with someone sponsored by the local labor federation.¹

Mark Pettit, self-styled independent member of council, thereupon moved to have council itself place a P.R. repealer on the ballot.² Failing, he drew up petitions and, with the help of unionists and free-wheeling politicians allied with the Democratic party, succeeded in obtaining the necessary signatures.

Sole support for P.R. was provided by a small but militant unit of the League of Women Voters. After first settling their own position by a secret ballot vote of six to one for P.R., members of the league—with help from Cincinnati—prepared a counterattack, sought speaking engagements and handed out literature. Typically, attempts to pass out pamphlets at factory gates were greeted with hostility and in a number of instances the literature was seized and destroyed.

Hamilton's lone newspaper, the *Journal*, despite its long record of support for P.R. since its inauguration in 1927, renounced the system in a carefully-worded editorial.

Although Hamilton's Democratic and Republican parties have traditionally followed a hands-off policy in municipal affairs, Democratic workers joined the repealer campaign. The Republicans stood silently by.

FOREST FRANK
Executive Director

Cincinnati City Charter Committee

¹ The *Model City Charter* provision for filling P. R. vacancies requires a recount of the ballots which elected the vacating member. In Hamilton the council filled vacancies by a majority vote of the remaining members, with no assurance that a member so chosen would represent the same segment of voters as his predecessor.

² See the REVIEW, October 1960, page 503.

Fruin-Colnon Prize Winners Announced

Winners of the 1960 Fruin-Colnon Awards were announced at the closing luncheon of the 66th National Conference on Government in Phoenix. The \$1,000 book prize went to Wallace S. Sayre and Herbert Kaufman for *Governing New York City—Politics in the Metropolis*.

Miss Ruth Moore received the \$500 prize for her newspaper series, "Downtown USA," published in the *Chicago Sun-Times*.

The *Journal of Housing* was recognized for its special report, "The Role of the Businessman in Urban Renewal," and the *Hartford Times* for outstanding coverage of urban renewal and planning.

Special awards recognizing unique contributions to the understanding and solution of urban problems were awarded to Coleman Woodbury for *A Framework for Urban Studies*, the Greater Boston Economic Study Committee, the Intergovernmental Cooperation Council of Salem, Oregon, and to Roscoe C. Martin and Douglas Price for *The Metropolis and Its Problems* and the Southern California Research Council for *The Southern California Metropolis*.

These awards are financed by the Fruin-Colnon Contracting Company and are administered by the National Municipal League. The winners are selected by a panel of nine judges.

Miami Beach Picked

(Continued from page 581)

November 30 and December 1, 2 and 3. Headquarters will be the Fontainebleau Hotel, generally considered one of the most fabulous of the palatial Florida

hotels, which, on the verge of its winter season, offers Conference-goers rates comparable to those of ordinary hostilities.

The League's 67th annual Conference will follow immediately after that of the International City Managers' Association in the same hotel.

The Council elected, to serve with the officers as members of the Executive Committee, Richard S. Childs, chairman, Bayard H. Faulkner, Luther H. Gulick, Cecil Morgan, Vernon C. Myers and James M. Osborn. Carl H. Pforzheimer, Jr., was reappointed treasurer and Alfred Willoughby, secretary and executive director.

John S. Linen, vice president of the League and chairman of the Finance Committee, presided over a breakfast meeting of that committee held the morning of November 14.

Addresses Women Voters

One hundred members of the League of Women Voters of Norwalk, Connecticut, recently heard Richard S. Childs, chairman of the League's Executive Committee, discuss the advantages of the council-manager form of government. Mr. Childs also discussed charter-drafting problems with the members of the Norwalk charter commission.

Graham Re-elected

Thomas Graham, investment banker and League regional vice president, recently was reelected president of the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund of the City of Louisville which, next March 24, will celebrate its 110th anniversary. It is among the oldest, if not the oldest, such operation.

Collins, Linen, Langlie Reelected

The League's principal officers—William Collins, president, and John S. Linen and Arthur B. Langlie, vice presidents—were reelected at the annual meeting of members November 13 at the National Conference on Government in Phoenix.

The following new members of the governing Council were elected for terms to expire in 1963: Alan K. Browne, San Francisco; Jerome K. Crossman, Dallas; E. D. Dodd, Toledo; Bayard H. Faulkner, Montclair, New Jersey; Ewart W. Goodwin, San Diego; Mark S. Matthews, Greenwich, Connecticut; Edmund B. Shea, Milwaukee; Frank A. Vanderlip, Jr., New York; Wilson W. Wyatt, Louisville.

The following were elected as regional vice presidents: J. B. Atherton, Honolulu; Jac Chambliss, Chattanooga; Robert S. Cushman, Chicago; Charles R. Diebold, Buffalo; Ben B. Ehrlichman, Seattle; John B. Gage, Kansas City, Missouri; Carl J. Gilbert, Boston; Barry Goldwater, Phoenix; Thomas Graham, Louisville; Lloyd Hale, Minneapolis; A. E. Johnson, Denver; L. E. Marlowe,

Richmond, Virginia; J. Raburn Monroe, New Orleans; Norris Nash, Oakland, California; H. Bruce Palmer, Newark, New Jersey; Thomas R. Reid, Dearborn; Lee M. Sharrar, Houston; Edward C. Sullivan, San Antonio; H. V. Watkins, Jackson, Mississippi; John F. Watlington, Jr., Winston-Salem, North Carolina; and Winston W. Wynne, Miami, Florida.

Phoenix Sessions

(Continued from page 581)

Cooperation"; in 1962, "Leadership 'to Form a More Perfect Union.'"

A special feature of the 1960 Conference was a series of state constitutional workshops with participants from various states involved in constitutional revision efforts. Discussions in these workshops will provide guidance to the League's State Constitutional Studies Project, which is engaged in a comprehensive revision of the *Model State Constitution*.

Three of the addresses at the Phoenix Conference are published in this issue of the REVIEW.

National Municipal League's governing Council during a pause in its annual business meeting held during the Phoenix Conference.



10

**NEW
PUBLICATIONS
in the
State Constitutional
Studies Project**

SERIES I

1. THE MODEL STATE CONSTITUTION
2. SALIENT ISSUES OF CONSTITUTIONAL REVISION
3. THE FUTURE ROLE OF THE STATES
4. A MANUAL FOR STATE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTIONS
5. HOW TO STUDY A STATE CONSTITUTION

(The above will be issued various dates, February to May, 1961.)

SERIES II

(Now Available)

1. STATE CONSTITUTIONS: THE SHAPE OF THE DOCUMENT
by Robert B. Dishman, \$1.50
2. STATE CONSTITUTIONS: REAPPORTIONMENT
by Gordon E. Baker, \$2.00
3. STATE CONSTITUTIONS: THE GOVERNOR
by Bennett M. Rich, \$1.00
4. STATE CONSTITUTIONS: THE STRUCTURE OF ADMINISTRATION
by Ferrel Heady, \$1.50
5. STATE CONSTITUTIONS: THE BILL OF RIGHTS
by Robert S. Rankin, 75¢

(Special price of \$5.50 for all five)

Providing basic background for citizen and official groups seeking to improve their state constitutions.

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Carl H. Pforzheimer Building

47 East 68th Street, New York 21, N. Y.

One Man . . . One Vote

The Truth Is Out

University institutes of government and other local authorities from 50 states have supplied parallel facts, figures and appraisals of the condition and effects on the democratic process of their distributions of legislative and congressional seats as compared with the principle of majority rule and equality of representation. (This is a background research document, not an official League publication.)

Compendium on Legislative Apportionment

150 pp. mimeo. \$3.00

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Carl H. Pforzheimer Building

47 East 68th Street, New York 21

A Guide for Charter Commissions

Revised Edition

Prepared by a National Municipal League committee of authorities, this pamphlet meets a long felt need for a pattern of action to increase the effectiveness of charter drafters.

A Guide for Charter Commissions outlines the problem clearly, sets forth the basic needs and specific steps which should be taken, warns against common mistakes and pitfalls and lists helpful materials and sources.

It is used by virtually all charter commissions. It is an essential companion to the *Model City Charter*.

Typical comment from a city of 200,000:
"Your document is most helpful to a bewildered charter commission member."

1960, 48 pages, \$1.00

National Municipal League

47 East 68th Street

New York 21

